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T H E R H I N E :
O R, A
J O U R N E Y
FROM
UTRECHT TO FRANCFORT;
CHIEFLY BY
THE BORDERS OF THE RHINE,
AND THE
PASSAGE DOWN THE RIVER,
FROM
MENTZ TO BONN:

Described in a Series of Letters, written from Holland, to
a Friend in England, in the Years 1791 and 1792.

I N T W O V O L U M E S,

B Y T. C O G A N, M. D.

**Embellished with Twenty-four Views in Aqua Tinta, and a
Map of the Rhine from Mentz to Bonn.**

V O L. II.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED BY G. WOODFALL,

FOR J. JOHNSON, IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

1794.

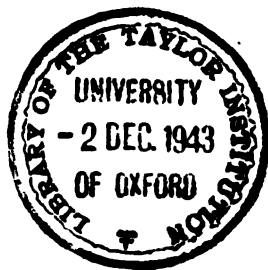


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- Page 9, l. 12, read *stunden*
 42, l. 17, and p. 44, l. 7, 14, and p. 46, last l. but one,
 r. *Siebengebirge*
 45, l. 15, r. *Rhenus*
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 49, l. 11. f. Shoaboraflust r. Shönborn's lust
 59, l. 8, and l. 3, from bottom f. eastern r. western
 — l. 16, f. supposed r. disposed
 66, l. 3, 4, r. though our Cicerone would not, and im-
 mediately, &c
 68, l. 20, r. claw
 69, l. 3, r. *verspalten*
 88, l. 7, f. adopted r. adapted
 103, l. 11, r. *Shönborn*
 105, l. 2, r. Prebends
 108, l. the last, f. live r. terminate
 111, l. 7, from bottom, r. relicks
 120, l. 25, f. to r. in
 121, l. last, r. Francis of
 122, l. 5, from bottom, dele Electoral
 131, l. 3, r. *Johan*
 142, l. 7. f. Jeiz, r. Seiz
 — l. 25, f. More r. Many
 144, l. 1, f. 1425, r. 1485
 145, l. 14, f. argument r. agreement
 149, l. 25, 26, f. painter r. printer
 159, l. 3, f. to r. who
 165, l. 24, 27, r. Pieterſon
 171, l. 1, r. Ludovicus
 174, l. 2, from bottom, f. deceſſit r. decepit
 175, l. 6, f. ſtand r. ſtart
 202, l. 2, f. junior r. ſenior
 — l. laſt, r. *Speculum*
 203, l. 12, from bottom, r. employed
 — l. laſt, r. *imprimendi*
 245, l. 12, from bottom, r. *Canonicus*
 254, l. 15, f. dinner r. Römeſ
 268, l. 13, f. releaſing r. relieving
 287, l. 7, from bottom, f. Rhingan r. Rhingau, and in
 every other place where this word occurs
 290, l. 4, from bottom r. *ὁ δὲ τῶν δουρῶν ἐδίδωκε δαΐρας λίαν*
 295, l. 9, f. Volla Troiſe r. Villa Triſe
 297, l. 1, f. reſide r. recede

Page 302, l. 9, f. Mans r. Maus
 In the song facing p. 310, ver. 2, f. wines r. vines
 313, l. 12, r. Diepenbeck
 328, l. 8, from bottom, f. Stahl. r. Stuhl
 336, l. 11, f. *wicked* r. *Wickert*
 371, l. 7. r. *Galienus*
 — l. 14, 15, r. particularly.

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THE RHINE.

LETTER XXX.

Bruhl.

WE should have lost all title to the character of *curious* travellers, if we had omitted to visit *Bruhl*, the country residence of the Elector of *Cologne*. It was marked down by my friend at *Dusseldorff*, among the *merkwürdigkeiten*, and urged upon us by several gentlemen at the public table, as well as by our *valet de place*, who took this opportunity of convincing us, that his knowledge extended beyond the limits of the city walls. It was not more than one post and an half out of the direct road to *Bonn*;—the weather was fine;—we had the day before us;—no urgent business called us to *Bonn* in the forenoon;—and we should still be able to reach it in the afternoon. No reasonable objection, therefore, could be made to the proposition.

VOL. II.

B

Though,

Though, to confess the truth, if so many circumstances had not concurred to support this motion, I should have opposed it.

I had seen many noblemen's seats in *England*, some in *France*, and not a few of the principal country-houses in *Holland*; so that my curiosity was pretty well satisfied. After the novelty of these objects is over, their great and formal similarity becomes irksome. The little diversity that is perceived between the one and the other, scarcely compensates for the trouble of being conducted from apartment to apartment, and listening to the histories of family pictures, which you forget the moment you leave the place; or of rich embroidery, worked by female personages, with whom we have never had the honour of being acquainted. I find it rather troublesome to be obliged to admire, out of courtesy to the exhibitor, their state beds—Chinese hangings—vases—*Brussels* or *Goblin* tapestry—inlaid floors—silk damask curtains and chairs, and settees glittering with golden fringe—mantle-pieces supported by sphinxes and mermaids—a Bacchus, or a dolphin, supporting a sideboard or a marble slab—

The rich beaufet which coloured serpents grace,
Where gaping Tritons spew to wash your face—
angels innumerable, finely gilt, to adorn the
frame

frame of a large mirror—cherubs disgraced into candlesticks, sprawling from on high, to illuminate mortals below—Cupids with garlands of flowers, suspended in *alto rilievo* over an alcove—the three Graces ornamenting a stove or *oven*, and as inevitably exposed to the heat of a fiery furnace, as Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego—Gods and Goddesses condemned to support music galleries, or the ballustrades of a spacious stair-case,—and yet it is these which furnish the chief materials of that splendour which is the general subject of admiration.

Do not imagine, Sir, that I despise any of these Divinities, or wish to pick a general quarrel with them. I am much their advocate; for it really strikes me, that their Godships are treated with unpardonable indignity, thus to be hacked and hewn out into such subordinate services, at the caprice of poor mortal man. Nor am I in the least influenced by the unlucky accident which befel me when Neptune ran the prongs of his trident into my occiput, as I was stepping backwards to contemplate the statue of a *Venus*, to more advantage. It was not the *Venus de Medicis*, whose perfect symmetry of shape is accompanied with a gloom of countenance, as if she was dissatisfied with her profession.

cession. It was the other *Venus*; the

————— *Erycina* Ridens,
Quam Jocus circumvolat et Cupido.

But as the God meant me no harm, for the blow was aimed at *Erechtibonius*, I sincerely forgive him. Perhaps part of the fault was my own, in being so very attentive to this laughter-loving dame, who generally leads her admirers into some bad scrape or other.

Nor have I contracted a disgust for silks and satins, or any of their appendages. Where the man of fortune unites with the principles of justice, benevolence and charity, a taste for this species of elegance; where, after making all his immediate dependants, and natural claimants, as happy as their state will admit, he encourages genius with the superfluity, he does well. But these luxuries are paltry substitutes for the least mental quality, and they excite indignation, when they are the trophies of oppression.

The name of the country-house is properly *Augustbourg*; but as it is situated adjacent to the small but pleasing city of *Brühl*, it is not deemed a misnomer to give it the same appellation. The palace and city are placed in a fertile vale, distant about two leagues, from *Cologne*, and three from *Bonn*. The intermediate
country

country is delightful, open, variegated, and at the season of our journey, it was laden with plenty. The country-house, or to adopt the elevated stile of the inhabitants, the *palace* is situated on the south-eastern side of the town. It has nothing extraordinary in its external appearances, or stile of architecture; it being upon a level with the second or third class of country seats in England. It is placed in the centre of a very large area, forming a *basse-cour* to each front. This *basse-cour* is not kept in the order it deserves. A general negligence seems to indicate, that it is no favourite spot of the Elector, and spreads a gloom over the mind, more than absolute ruins.

The immediate entrance into the mansion is peculiar for the palace of a prince; and by no means favourable to the idea of dignity. It is by means of a gate-way, which runs through the centre of the building, after the manner of some large inns. On the left hand of this passage, upon entering from the city, is a large and superb stair-case, profusely ornamented with paintings and statues. The first *coup d'oeil* brought to my recollection the magnificent stair-case at *Chatsworth*, the seat of the Duke of *Devonshire*. But as the latter is connected with a noble hall, dignity and suitability are well

preserved, whereas the defect of each in the mansion at *Brühl*, is very striking. The immediate access to this costly ornament, is from the public passage just mentioned, from which it is separated merely by iron pallisades. This mode of construction is not only inelegant, but it exposes this choice workmanship to every hurricane of dust, and the mansion to every current of wind.

On the right hand, as we enter from the town, are the offices for servants. Our guide commenced his circuit on this side, and first introduced us into a large billiard-room, which had the singularity of being *wainscotted* with *Dutch tiles*, if you will allow the *catachresis*: hence to the family Chapel, thence to various other apartments, large and small, destined for every purpose which luxury can invent or diversify, Morning cabinets, evening cabinets, state rooms, drawing-rooms, saloons, bed-rooms, with private chapels contiguous, &c. &c. Much has been expended to give several of these apartments great *eclat*. The wainscots are of a vivid colour, and most profusely ornamented; but they are not in the most modern taste.

I must beg of you to furnish these apartments in the best manner you can, with the ample materials I have already given you, as
the

the furniture properly belonging to them was already conveyed to *Franckfort*, preparatory to the election of the Emperor; being destined to exhibit their splendour in honour of that solemnity.

Two of the apartments are peculiarly grand, viz. the drawing-room, and large saloon; as also the vestibule of the stair-case. The ceilings of these are painted by *Anducci* and *Carioli*, in a very elegant and pleasing taste. The subject of the saloon I remember is the Banquet of the Gods; the others I have forgotten; but they were all of the coelestial kind. One of these painters, *Carioli*, received not less than about five thousand pounds sterling, for painting the large saloon. Satisfied with this ample addition to his former fortune, he resolved to retire from business. But he was strongly solicited by some other German prince, to resume the pencil; and seduced by terms too advantageous to be resisted, he complied with the request. As he was engaged in the exercise of his art, the constrained posture made him giddy, deprived him of his senses. By being occupied among coelestials, he forgot that he was mortal, —imagined himself an angel,—attempted to fly, —threw himself from the lofty scaffold,—and fell dead upon the floor.

The gardens belonging to this palace, do not merit a description.

I could give you further information concerning this *chateau*; but shall only observe, that it was built by *Clement Augustus*, begun in the year 1728, and finished in the year 1740. The ancient castle, its predecessor, has been so frequently attacked and defended by contending parties, that the history of its dangers, sufferings, and triumphs, would be the history of the wars which disturbed this part of Germany for many centuries.

This visit to *Brühl*, which was so perfectly indifferent to me, before I undertook it, was the occasion of a very considerable alteration in the plan of our journey. We had originally proposed to descend the *Rhine* from *Mentz* to *Cologne*, in a boat, upon our return from *Frankfort*; in order to enjoy the romantic scenes that exhibit themselves on each side of the stream, particularly from *Mentz* to *Bonn*. We intended to take our passage at *Cologne* to *Cleves* or *Arnhem*, in one of those larger vessels I described in the preceding letter. We had suppressed a wish formerly entertained of paying a visit to *Spa*, or *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in consequence

2 of

of information received that the troubles prevalent in the Bishoprick of *Liege*, and the parts adjacent, had deterred company from frequenting either of those places. But our host assured us, that these troubles had an influence upon *Spa* alone, and that *Aix-la-Chapelle* was unusually brilliant, both from the cause which distressed *Spa*, and from the presence of the French nobility, who were obliged to leave their country. We also learned that *Aix-la-Chapelle* was not more than *eighteen stunde*, or one day's journey from *Bonn*. This state of things determined us to alter our course, upon our return; and after descending the *Rhine* from *Mentz*, to proceed from *Bonn* to *Aix*; and thence to *Maestricht*, in our course homewards.

Be not alarmed, my dear Sir. The change of purposes shall make no alteration in my narrative. If you will allow this small digression to *Brühl*, another to *Wiesbaden*, and an *Episode* to *Frankfort*, I am determined to keep close to my subject, the *Rhine*; and to drop my pen when I drop that.

P. S. I should have told you that among the small number of paintings which adorn this man-

manfion, the moft diftinguifhed are The *Maid of Orleans*, armed cap-a-pié, kneeling before a Crucifix; this is attributed to *Rubens*; and the Crucifixion of our Saviour in the Chapel, painted by *Vanderwerf*, in the delicate ftile for which he was diftinguifhed.





View of Bonn & the Seven Mountains ascending the Rhine.

Published by J. Sturges, London, May 1838.

LETTER XXXI,

Bonn.

THERE is something in the *tout ensemble* of *Bonn*, which renders it peculiarly agreeable : and were I destined to reside in any spot along the *Rhine*, which I have visited, perhaps I should give this the preference. As you have already seen how charmed I was with *Cleves*, you may suspect me of being an inconstant lover, and changeable as the objects before me. But this is not the case. It is one thing, to admire as a visitor, and another to prefer as a constant companion. *Cleves* excels in richness, wildness, and extent of prospect : It treats the eye from different points of view with numberless scenes of the romantic kind : but *Bonn* is more agreeably situated for a perpetual residence. It is better adapted to the solitary evening walk ; or to little excursions either on horse-back, or in a carriage ; and much better supplied with agreeable society, if the general report be true. To the north and west of this
small

small city, the country is fine and open, and very fruitful in various kinds of grain. Towards the south, a majestic range of hills presents itself to view; upon the declivity of which commences the cultivation of the grape; and whose feet are bathed by the *Rhine*.—In general the ground is not so elevated nor depressed in every direction, as in the country surrounding *Cleves*, but it has that kind of undulatory surface, which makes some of the inland provinces of England so agreeable; by softening the sublime into the beautiful, and changing the horrors of rough craggy roads, where every step must be taken with a degree of caution, in many parts at least, into the ideas of safety, ease, and expedition.

This city is also the favourite residence of the Elector of *Cologne*, and of consequence is the resort of persons of fashion, which renders the manners more polite, conversation more free and interesting, and raises the people above abject poverty. These are the sentiments I have been taught to entertain, by what I have seen, and by what I have heard from those who were well acquainted with both cities. From this cause, although it is destitute of commerce or of any considerable manufactures, it appears much more above want, than either *Cleves*
or

or *Cologne*. It is infinitely more gay than the latter city. Heavens forgive my mundane ideas, but I acknowledge that the sight of ladies and gentlemen who set off to advantage the beauties of a fine person, by elegance of dress, is far more refreshing to my Opticks, than it is to behold swarms of ecclesiasticks, and herds of those *Ourang Outangs* of the true Catholic faith, *mendicant Friars*.

The superior riches of this town are manifested before you enter it, by the appearance of the Saints and Crucifixes, which it is usual in Roman Catholic countries to place by the way-side, and principally adjacent to the gates of their cities; in order to seize every opportunity to excite flagging devotion.— These we perceived were kept in neat repair. Nay, some of them were painted and gilt with a degree of splendour. Whereas in every other place, through which we had passed, and particularly at *Cologne*, they all appeared in a deep decline; so that, if it were a principle with these holy personages, that Charity begins at home, they would commence their miracles by repairing a rotten leg, setting a dislocated arm, and giving the whole of their
bodies

bodies a new cloathing of paint, to preserve them from the inclemency of winter.

Documents are before me, by means of which I could give you a complete history of *Bonn*, from its origin, through its troubles, to its present more prosperous state. But as the incidents which have befallen this city, are not essentially different from those to which every other city has been exposed, in turbulent times, I shall not detain you. It is said, that the original name was *Verona*, but that it was afterwards called *Bonn*, from the appellation *Castra Bona*, given by the sixth Roman Legion, that was encamped here a considerable time. The town is supposed to contain twelve thousand inhabitants; the greater number of which are, in one capacity or other, dependant upon the court. The town itself has nothing very pleasing; the streets are small; and the fortifications are in a ruinous state; but the houses in general manifest a desirable equality; and, exclusive of the Electoral palace, there are very few stately mansions to insult the dwellings of their neighbours, on the one hand; nor are there on the other, strong marks of extreme poverty among the inhabitants in general.

The University begins to flourish under the auspices of the present Elector. Dissatisfied with

with the wretched state of science at *Cologne*, and with the conduct of the inhabitants, he has declared that those students who shall distinguish themselves by their assiduity and capacities, in the University of *Bonn*, shall be preferred to vacant charges in Church or State, while every student in Law, Physic, or Divinity, at the University of *Cologne*, shall be for ever excluded from employment in every part of his domains. This declaration was made in the year 1789; and it will in all probability be the total ruin of the *Colognian* Academy.

Another institution favourable to Science, is a Literary Society, of which the Elector is also member. Their object is, to purchase different literary Journals and other publications, and to read dissertations given in occasionally, by any of their own body. They assemble in an apartment at the *Maison de Ville*. Their number amounts to about one hundred.

The present Elector is much esteemed as a man of sense, moderation, and beneficence. He shews pomp and parade as little as his elevated station will permit. Although a Bishop, nay, an *Archbishop*, he has nothing of the *Churchman*, and prefers the virtues which spring up in a liberal, well-cultivated mind, to the weeds and nettles of an ecclesiastical enclosure. I

need not tell you, he is of the Austrian house, and brother to the present Emperor *Leopold*.*

But to my journal.

We arrived at our inn, *The Imperial Court*, about three o'clock in the afternoon, and consequently too late for a seat at the public table. But a good substitute was served up, with due expedition, in our own apartment; and not having any other to pay us the compliment, we drank our own welcome to *Bonn*, in a glass of choice Rhenish wine. After a short repose, and taking our coffee *a-la Françoisse*, we enquired for a guide, under whose convoy we might safely reconnoitre the town. This, as I have already hinted, has nothing very remarkable. The Market-place is a spacious irregular square. The Town-house is a large, and a showy building, though in the high Gothic stile. The other parts of the town furnish little for either praise or censure, to a man disposed to either the one or the other.

We wandered till we came to the palace of the Elector, which is a very large, extensive, and elegant building. The palace, with the stables, offices, &c. stretch out to an amazing

* This Letter was written before the death of the late Emperor.

length.

length. They form, in appearance, the largest portion of the eastern side of the city, which is proximate to the river. The gardens belonging to this Palace are open to the inhabitants, and the terrace before the grand Façade, is the fashionable walk in summer evenings. These are frequented by a larger number of the *beau monde* of each sex, than the city, judging both from its size and appearance, could have been supposed to contain. The gardens are ill-planned, nor is there much care conspicuous to keep them in due order; but the advantage of situation renders them very pleasant. They command a view towards the river, of the adjacent hills mantled with vines; and are in full contemplation of those lofty mountains, which, from the appearance of their peaks at a certain distance, have acquired the name of *Seven-bergen*, i. e. Seven-hills; and the eye is also able to penetrate a considerable extent up the channel of the river towards *Coblentz*, through the range of lofty hills already mentioned.

From the right wing of the Palace, sideways, is a lovely walk, shaded with lime-trees, which leads from this *Rus in Urbe*, to another seat belonging to the Elector; at a distance of a mile from the town, and consequently still more rural. This also serves as an elegant promenade for the polite world. Beyond this country seat

exhibits itself to view the village of *Poppeldorff*, i. e. People-village, situate at the foot of a hill, on the summit of which is the Monastery of *Cruizberg*, so called from its alleys being shaped in the form of crosses. The Monastery is placed in such a connection, as at once to enjoy and afford a pleasing prospect. Beyond *Cruizberg*, still more towards the south, is the hill distinguished by the name of *Godesberg*, God's-hill. Some ascribe the appellation to a temple of the God *Mercury*, that was formerly placed upon it;—others, to the healing virtues of the mineral springs, which were formerly in some repute, and are again recovering their reputation.

I am so captivated with rural scenes, bubbling fountains, shady walks, and extensive prospects, that I have not the least inclination to step into this palace with you, or conduct you to the apartment, where the state bed, covered with a profusion of gold, reserves dignified repose for Kings and Princes; or to the *Grande Salle* destined for the Grand Mistress of the Teutonic Order; or to the Electoral Library; or the Room destined to Experimental Philosophy; or the Theatre, to which, notwithstanding it is a part of the Palace, the public have free access. For although these are worthy of the possessor, and do honour to the present

sent Elector, who has considerably improved the scientific department, yet the most minute description would not convey to you one jot of interesting information.

Therefore you had better accompany us in our ramble.

Allured by the beauty of the scenes, we determined to walk towards the country-seat, within our view : But the attendant not being able to accompany us so far, consigned us over to a young lad, who became his *vice-gerent valet de place*. The change did not appear to our advantage, and rather touched our pride. The new attendant was without stockings or shoes, and his tattered coat seemed to threaten leaving him in a tattered waistcoat. However, as we wanted nothing more than to be re-conducted to our inn, in case of *aberrations*, we took him into our service. Notwithstanding the poverty of his appearance, his countenance was open, contented, and cheery. He answered all our questions with vivacity and smartness, employing the intermediate time in picking up of stones, and jirking them before him. Upon enquiring who and what he was, he said, that " he was the only son of a widow, and she was very poor ; subsisting in part by spinning, in

part by donations from the parish, and in part by *myself*." This thought most certainly gave energy to his arm, for we observed that he jirked a stone just as he was uttering it, much farther than any of the preceding.

But what are *your* means of subsisting?

"Partly by spinning," said he, "partly by going of errands, and attending such gentlemen as you, and partly by *begging*."

Mendicity never appeared so reputable in my eyes; and from that moment I have found my resolutions strengthened, never to speak harshly or reproachfully, to the most common beggar, if I should neither have the means or the disposition to relieve him.

Is this so poor a place?

"Poor enough, God knows! we are all starving, excepting the great folks," answered he, with as broad a smile as his jolly cheeks would permit, and springing over a ditch with the most careless indifference as he spoke.

With one question he was puzzled. Perceiving several ruins on the top and sides of the *Sevenbergen*, that were some few miles before us, my companion enquired what they were or had been?

"They are *old stone walls*," answered he; "what they are good for, I know not," throwing
a stone

a stone towards them, as if resolved to demolish them at a blow.

This answer by no means satisfied us, and a wiser inhabitant advancing, informed us, that the town of *Bonn* had formerly extended so far, as to be under the immediate protection of those fortresses. But in the Swedish wars, the city was nearly demolished by a victorious enemy, and reduced to its present diminutive size.

The country seat of the Elector is a neat elegant building, but it has nothing *externally* to demand a particular description; and *internally*, it is rendered invisible by the presence of the Elector's sister, Regentess of the Austrian Netherlands; to whom it is an asylum during the civil commotions of that distracted country.

Passing by this mansion, we walked through the village of *Poppeldorff*, and ascended the hill on which the Monastery of *Cruizberg* is situated. The view from its summit as well as from *Godesberg*, already mentioned, to which it is contiguous, is very extensive and sublime. On the east and north-east, it is *semicircled* by a hanging wood that projects towards the bed of the *Rhine*. It faces *Sevenberg*, which is on the opposite side of the river, with apparent humility, as if unworthy to be called a moun-

tain. But in the direction of *Bonn*, it is much more bold, assumes a majestic appearance, commands a full view of the city, and extends the prospect to an immense distance in the direction of *Brühl* and *Cologne*,

Thus you see, my friend, with what address these pious sons of the holy Church, reconcile contradictions! While they renounce the world, they have found means to inherit the earth. Their retirement to this delightful spot, they set down to the Lord, on the score of *self-denial*, and manifest their attachment to the Cross, by planting their lovely shady walks in that particular form.

Upon our return, as we approached the city, we dismissed our incipient Cicerone, by giving him a piece of money, in value about *eight-pence*. It was highly entertaining to see his emotions upon the unexpected possession of so large a treasure. He looked at *it*, then at *us*,—first with an astonishment, which prevented him from thanking us;—then with a smile that was more expressive than words!—he turned it—looked at it again—once more grinned a thanksgiving,—bid adieu with a nod of his head, and ran towards the town with the utmost swiftness,—stopt short on a sudden, to look back upon us,

with another silent God bless you,—and then flew out of sight.

When we returned to the Market-place, our spark saw us at a distance, and immediately held up towards us, in the attitude of a priest at the altar, a little leaden *Virgin Mary*, to the purchase of which he might have devoted about two-pence of his cash. Perhaps it being market-day, he had seized the opportunity of manifesting his devotion and gratitude.—Perhaps it was to repair some loss which his mother might have sustained by breaking one of earth, and this pious youth was resolved to surprise her with a penate of a less fragile, and more pliable substance.

Since our visit to *Bonn*, the spring at *Godesberg* has been rising considerably in renown. The Elector has employed physicians to analyse the waters, and they are found to be in no respect inferior to those of *Schwalbach*, or *Spa*. In the course of the last year, large quantities have been exported to foreign countries. Encouraged by these circumstances, the Elector is making the most vigorous efforts to render the spot popular. He has granted an exclusive right to a society of gentlemen, to build an assembly-room, and also a room for the purposes of gaming,

without which he is well assured, that few persons of distinction will frequent the place. A limited number of lodging houses are to be built, or rather are actually building, without the village of *Godesberg*, on ground contiguous to gardens, entitled the *New Vauxhall*. Each of these dwellings are to enjoy the same prospect towards the *Rhine*, the *Sevenbergen*, and the public road. A vists, about two hundred paces in length, is to conduct to the springs, which have the name of *Draisch Brunnen*. To animate *Entrepreneurs*, the ground is given gratis, and the houses will be exempt from every tax. The buildings are to be divided into two classes, that the gentry and persons in more private stations, may each be suitably accommodated. The man who shall have finished and furnished the first house, in a manner proper for the reception of strangers, is to receive a premium of fifteen hundred florins, about 140l. Nine hundred are promised for the second, and six hundred for the third. The houses may be built either of brick, wood, or stone, as the adventurer pleases, but according to a determinate size and form. No alteration may be arbitrarily made in the Façade; but if any person prefers a plan of his own, he may submit it to the inspection of the *Superintendant-general*; and
if

if approved, build according to it.—Could the multitudinous buildings about your metropolis have been subjected to similar regulations, what a paradise might have been formed! No offensive trade or buildings that could be deemed a nuisance will be allowed.

As I delight to see private interest, and public benefit united, I cannot suppress a wish, that in this undertaking the Elector may have an advantage over *Apollo* himself, and that we may hereafter be entitled to exclaim,

Sic profunt Domino, quæ profunt omnibus artes!

LETTER XXXII.

Bonn.

WE supped at the public table, where there was much genteel company. We were seated next to a young French officer of the artillery, who was at *Paris*, in the beginning of their troubles. The conversation soon turned upon the political situation of *France*; and our new acquaintance censured, with strong marks of indignation, the innovations made in the form of its government. He particularly lamented the disorders arisen in the army, and those ideas of Liberty diffused among military men, that were subversive of all subordination. He complained that lenity and severity were alike pernicious; that the former was abused, and the latter rendered discontents and combinations more formidable.

My friend, who is a zealous advocate for the Rights of Mankind, acknowledged that these inconveniences were great, and must appear momentous in the eyes of military men in parti-

particular; but he maintained, that they were comparatively *nothing*, when the importance of the cause that gave rise to them, was brought into competition.—“It is a glorious æra,” exclaimed he, “in which soldiers refuse to execute the commands of a *despot*, and begin to judge for themselves concerning the *justice* of a cause before they will engage in it.”

“Then is military discipline at an end for ever,” answers the officer.

My friend could not see the consequence, excepting his opponent would allow that all rulers were despots.

“Without this harsh supposition, the consequence is obvious,” continues his antagonist. “Introduce among those machines, the right of private judgment, and you may easily conceive what a confusion it must create! Under this pretext, the inferior officer may refuse to execute the orders of his superior; and the common soldier, the orders of either. Every man may urge scruples of conscience, and lay down his arms in the moment of danger. Regiments may employ their time in arguing about the equity of a cause, instead of uniting their strength to support it. Or if their scruples divert them from one enterprise, their blind notions of equity may induce them to undertake another: it may
prompt

prompt them to turn the *bayonet* from the common enemy, and point it at the breast of their commanding officer."

"Are there not cases," quoth my companion, "where the military would be justified in revolting against the commands of their officers? May we not suppose that a cruel and oppressive General, a Duke de *Guisé*, shall issue orders for the extirpation of a whole race of men, merely because they worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences; and must they obey?"

"In these times of greater civilization," rejoined the officer, "there is no danger of such injunctions. In barbarous times, or during the phrenzy of religious zeal, when the like orders were given, soldiers themselves, notwithstanding the horror they inspired, were not more cruel or savage than the people they suppressed. All was alternate cruelty, according as each party gained the ascendancy. A spirit of religious persecution was reciprocal, and every aim at extirpation was little more than self-defence. The minds of those highest in command, were not sufficiently humanized and enlightened to enable them to judge of the natural claims, and common rights of mankind; how then could it be expected from the common soldier? He

could not have a better rule to direct his conduct than blind submission."

But my friend still urged the question, "whether such a case might not be supposed, that would authorize a revolt?"

"Perhaps as a military man, I should be obliged to answer in the negative," replied the Captain. "I might argue, that their commanding officer, whom we must suppose to be better instructed than themselves, both in the rights of man, and in the nature of the duty enjoined, is alone answerable to his superiors in this world, and to his Maker in another, if he knowingly violates his commission and abuses his power. The men are his *instruments*, and exposed to punishment in case of disobedience. The equity of human laws transfers the culpability from them to their superiors; and I presume that in morals also, the guilt is to be imputed to their superiors alone."

"I perceive a fallacy in your mode of reasoning," answered Mr. ———. The common soldier, being compelled by human laws to obey his principal, cannot in justice be punished by human laws for this very obedience. But as a moral agent, and a Christian, he is bound by other laws, and is amenable to a higher tribunal,
if

if he knowingly executes a cruel and unjust command."

"But where and how shall we draw the line?" demands the officer.

"Such a case may be easily conceived. In civil troubles, for example, an idea of duties of the most opposite natures may present itself. The one, that duty which the military owe to their superiors, by the nature of the service, and in conformity to their oath; the other, that which they owe to their country. Now it does not require deep skill in Logic, to argue, that as the military are professedly established to defend the state, they cannot be bound by any oath to destroy the liberties of that state whose servants they are, and for whose protection they were brought into existence. Here then, a superior obligation, due to the community at large, ought to supercede any inferior obligation arising from the nature of military discipline. He ought not to cut the throats of his fellow-men and fellow-citizens, in obedience to the lawless mandates of a tyrant! The duty of a man and of a citizen ought to prompt him to a revolt in opposition to the passive submission of the soldier."

"If I grant that in such a case, refusal to obey the tyrant be a duty, it must be so obvious a viola-

a violation of every principle of humanity, and justice, that the meanest capacities can perceive it. They must feel to a man the iniquity of the deed, otherwise the confusion before described will necessarily ensue."

Apprehending by a smile upon the countenance of my companion, that he was going to make an improper use of this concession, the officer immediately subjoined, "But Sir, my concession will not reach the present situation of *France*, which introduced the conversation. The soldier is bound by oath and by duty, to maintain the constitution as it *exists*, to be true to his king, his country, and the laws, as *he found them*; he cannot therefore as a man or a Christian, join in any attempts to subvert those very laws he has sworn to maintain."

The above statement made the half triumphant antagonist pause for a few seconds. At the instant he was about to exclaim, *thou art conquered*, he found his own argument wrested from his hand, and pointed against himself. However, somewhat recovering, he endeavoured to parry the stroke, by observing that if the *majority* were resolved upon a total change of government, the military ought to support them in the attempt.

The

The Captain thought otherwise. "No military man," says he, "can suppose himself under obligation to subvert that very constitution he has sworn to support. Nor can he be absolved from his oath, by a different class of men from those who enjoined it. How then can a set of innovators, whose schemes of reform are at least problematical, not to say wild and visionary, and who cannot stir without violating the laws in being; how can they possess a legal, or even a *moral* right to absolve this class of men from their allegiance to the ancient form? Their line of duty, therefore, is very obvious as soldiers, however it may oppose their feelings as men and citizens. Every act of revolt is an infamous perjury; nor can they consistently with the character of a servant of the former state, observe a neutrality."

My friend acknowledged that the subject was attended with some difficulty; but he observed, that the positions could not be admitted to the extent they were advanced, as this would authorize the permanency of the most arbitrary and oppressive forms of government. "The greatest tyrants," says he, "are always the fondest of these kinds of machines; and if the only idea they are permitted to entertain, be
that

that they ought in every case to act as machines, the consequence is, their duty obliges them to be the instruments of Satan, in the destruction of mankind."

"However, if they will not join the patriots in effectuating the liberation of *France*, the revolution will probably take place without their aid, perhaps in opposition to it; and should this be the case, it is natural to imagine, that the military order of men will be abolished, as an unnecessary, if not a pernicious class of subjects."

The captain insisted upon it, that this was impracticable. "The dread of foreign powers will always support the necessity of a standing army. According to the present refined state of military discipline, they alone can excel, who are continually engaged in it; and this excellence will be requisite in every country, until there shall be a common consent to disband the Regulars, and trust to their armed citizens.—But," continues he, "let us for a moment suppose the plan to have taken place; annihilate the military; let every man who has property or family to defend, be initiated in the use of arms; may we not expect after the fire of patriotism is extinguished, together with the object that supplied the fuel, that difference of interests and of opinions, arising from local situa-

tions, sects of religion, attachment to an intriguing nobility, or to ambitious commoners, &c. will create divisions and animosities, in which each party, trusting to its own strength and skill in arms, and warmed by enmity and rivalry, having no chief to whom they yield an implicit obedience, who might controul their fury, or collect and direct their scattered strength to one grand object, may we not conclude, that each party will commit greater acts of cruelty than were ever experienced under the government they so loudly reprobate? You perceive, Sir, that I am now supposing that every man is to become a soldier; but I am informed the plan is in contemplation to place the national security in national guards; that is, to establish a permanent and invincible inequality, to furnish one part of the community with arms, and skill to use them, and to leave the others at their mercy; so that under the name of *protectors*, they may at any time become *masters*. But suppose every man capable of bearing arms was taught the use of them, what would, in process of time, be the consequence? We have only to recollect the feudal era, when every man was a warrior. Did not different parties arrange themselves under their favourite chieftains, and form petty states, that were eternally waging

waging the most rancorous wars against each other?"

My friend, in his turn, drew an argument from the more enlightened and polished manners of the times in favour of his hypothesis. He observed, that "the ages of barbarity were passed, and that the common causes of frequent war no longer existed; that agriculture and commerce, which were universally advancing with such rapid steps, would unite man to man, would render distant nations, friends; and the subjects of the same state, brethren. "It is natural to expect," says he, "that all enjoying equal privileges will consider themselves as one family, and instead of wasting their strength in civil commotions, will employ it against the common enemy alone, if any common enemy should exist. Suppose also that commotions should arise in a particular district, from any local cause, it will become the duty and interest of the others, whose judgments are not biased, or passions inflamed, to unite their force against the perturbators of the public tranquillity, and quell the disturbance, in a similar manner as mutinies in the army or navy are usually suppressed."

"Your plan," answered the officer, "is merely ideal, and appears to me *Utopian*. There

is not, in all the annals of history, an instance of such a constitution of things in large and populous states, and the experiments now making are very dangerous ones. If we may argue from *experience*, there is great reason to apprehend, that when weapons are put into the hands of every man, they will be wantonly abused. It is a rash absurdity to place hopes of safety in a combination where neither military ideas of submission, or military discipline can take place. The inconveniences arising from what may be deemed an universal militia, gave rise to select armies. Cashier these in one age, and you will be obliged to have recourse to them in the next."

My companion still urged, that as the experiment had never been tried, there were no instances of its failure; that it was so pleasing in speculation as to merit the trial, and that from the present state of society, and temper of the times, we might indulge the most sanguine hopes of success.

His opponent thought differently, but as they both appealed to futurity, the dispute naturally subsided.

Thus have I given you as accurate an account of this table *conversations*, as I can possibly recol-

recollect. As much has been said, so I think there is still much to be said on both sides. When the subjects of dispute are the probable consequences of plans to be executed by such versatile creatures as men, all conjectures are as unsatisfactory as they are numerous. We may easily foresee terrible disorders in this imagined constitution of things, should public disputes arise. But then it is not probable that such frequent occasions of general discord should present themselves, as in former times. From the rapid progress of knowledge, and the professions of humanity which happily prevail, we seem to be approaching nearer to that state, in which *swords will become plough-shares, and spears pruning-hooks*; but when shall we arrive?

It is observable that both of these combatants place great confidence in modern refinement of manners, where their respective arguments require it. But the question is, how far we may rely upon this degree of civilization? I cheerfully grant that the people are not so quickly roused to acts of injustice and barbarity, as in former times. They have much clearer conceptions of the nature of injustice and cruelty; they do not so readily stifle the instinctive feelings of the heart, by false ideas of glory or of revenge. From the present state of society,

for which we are principally beholden to agriculture and commerce, they find it to be more their interest to lead quiet and peaceable lives, than to invade and destroy. Party distinctions begin to wear away. A general diffusion of knowledge and good sense, has brought different classes of men nearer together; and as *men*, they are perceived to be nearly equal, however distant in *rank*; and they are now acknowledged to possess, when unprovoked, a number of excellent qualities in common. All these causes operate as bonds of peace, and we might hope would become pledges of public tranquillity. But whenever causes do present themselves of competent magnitude to rouse the mind, and excite the passions, the savage propensity will return. The fable of the Cat civilized into a fine Lady, or the genuine anecdote of the Military Dogs, which, while they were carrying on the regular siege of a castle, with the strictest observance of military discipline, were thrown into disorder, and began to worry each other for a bit of meat, which an unlucky wag threw among them, are in perpetual danger of being realized in our own species. The repeated acts of an atrocious nature, which were committed in *Holland*, during their late troubles, and which are still committing in *France*, too, clearly demonstrate,

monstrate, that these dispositions are not eradicated, though, from the general temper of the times, they may be somewhat suppressed. I might bring as a further argument of my position, the satisfaction enjoyed by thousands of you *humane English*, and numbers of those high in rank among those thousands, in beholding the brutal contests of your pugilists.*

The comparative mildness of the present day, therefore, can only be depended upon as it disposes the subject to submit to good and equitable laws. Conscious of his propensity to sudden fits of insanity, he begs, while in a placid interval, to be placed under wholesome restraints. But of itself, and without some restraints, this mildness is no more to be trusted, than that of a lion apparently tamed, whose sallies of rage may become most dreadful and destructive. Laws formed upon common rights and mutual in-

* The above letter was written several months before the disgraceful Riots at *Birmingham* took place. The Author sincerely laments that his native country should furnish so outrageous a proof of the truth of his proposition. Although he deemed his assertion to be founded upon some attention to the workings of the human mind, yet he could not have suspected, that the heart of an *Englishman* was framed to commit such excesses upon so slight a provocation; much less, that such multitudes should contemplate these excesses, with so placid a countenance!

terests, proposed and acceded to with temper, are the best keepers of the peace. These alone can secure universal tranquillity.

Our combatants parted good friends ; but as is the case in most disputes, the agitation of a political question settled the previous sentiments of each more firmly in his own mind.

LETTER





The City of Coblenz & the Castle of Ehrenbreitstein: ascending the Rhine.

Painted by J. Smith, London, May 1793.

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LETTER XXXIII.

Road to Coblenz.

Coblenz.

HAVING satisfied our curiosity by excursions, and by collecting as much general information as can be reasonably expected from hasty travellers, we determined to set our faces towards *Coblenz*. This city is about forty miles distant from *Bonn*. As it was so short a journey, and as the fatigues of the preceding day had indisposed us for early rising, our carriage was not ordered to be in readiness before nine o'clock in the morning.

You may remember, that when I gave you a description of *Cleves* and its neighbourhood, I observed that the city was built on the declivity of a hill, the summit of which opens upon an extensive country, forming an elevated plain; that the bed of the river was in a vale, at a
small

small distance from the basis of the hills, and that it was skirted by distant mountains on the eastern side. Our road to Duffeldorf, Cologne, and Bonn, on the western side of the Rhine, was along this elevated plain, without any remarkable variety of surface. But as we approached to Bonn, the declivity of the hills towards the river was considerably decreased, manifestly from the more elevated situation of its bed, as we advanced in the southern direction.

In the vicinity of Bonn commences another stage of elevation. The eastern hills, which seemed before to form a spacious amphitheatre, at a distance, gradually approach, and are finally absorbed in the stately mass of mountains denominated *Seibengeberte*, or Sevenbergen, that is, the seven hills. More lofty and majestic mountains, rising above the eminence on which we formerly thought ourselves, now approximate and arrange themselves in rude order, on each side of my favourite stream. The public road is no longer over an open plain, but in the vale by the side of the river. This vale, at its entrance from the side of Bonn, is sufficiently ample, being about a mile and half in diameter, and the Rhine flows through the centre, fertilizing the borders on each side with equal benignity.

nignity. These intermediate lands recompence the culture of the husbandman with various kinds of grain; while the mountains by which they are screened begin to sustain the cultivation of the vine.

This vale has, in every respect, the appearance of a bay that has been dried up. It gradually contracts by the approach of the hills, until the road is immediately by the side of the Rhine, and at the foot of these hills.

Professor Camper maintains, that the ancient jurisdiction of Neptune extended to this column of hills; and that it was these which formed a barrier to his extensive empire. This hypothesis seems to militate against the one advanced in a preceding letter, which opposed the hills of *Eltemberg* and *Vimeguen* to the tides of the ocean. If my hypothesis were in real danger, it would be my incumbent duty to defend it to the utmost of my power: For no one resists a siege with more vigour, (I will not say *intrepidity*) than a builder of systems, or makes use of more dexterous subterfuges before he will surrender the citadel. But the solution is easy. If it be true that Neptune once possessed an universal empire, which was gradually diminished by exhalations, absorptions, precipitations, conversions of water into animal substances, and thence



thence into earths ; its conversion into pure atmospheric air, by being deprived of its inflammable, we have only to contemplate the length of time necessary for this silent and treacherous mode of subjugation, and then we may readily grant that he was in possession of the districts to the north of the Sebengeberte, some centuries before he was reduced to the confines of Cleves. The Professor's hypothesis may refer to very ancient domains ; and your humble servant's to more modern.

In the road from Bonn to Andernach, which is about half way to Coblenz, the scene is very sublime. The *Sebengeberte* stand as sentinels to guard the entrance into this defile ; and though their lofty heads seem to triumph over all their neighbours, yet do the mountains on each side the current become bold, lofty, and massive, as we advance towards the south. Some of them present an ample surface to the cultivator. Others approach so near to the perpendicular, that it is impossible to behold the husbandman at his labours, without fearful apprehensions, lest an unlucky fall should precipitate him into the river. In other parts they spurn at cultivation ; and their bare Iron Rock bids defiance to all the machinations of art to render it fertile. Some of these rocks dart upwards,

upwards, in a pyramidal form, and present at their summit the appearance of castles, mouldering into dust. Others elude the art of the husbandman, by the falling of their loosened surface in confused heaps to the foot of the hill, or by their filling up the chinks and interstices that were formed by hasty torrents. In some parts the hills seem disposed to form a plain, and offer their broad surfaces to the trees of the forest; in some they divide, to give the traveller a transient peep at the distant country behind them; in others, rivulets hastily seek their way through the deep and sharp fissures between the mountains, to pay their usual tribute to old Rhinus, the king of streams; who, like the proud Lords of this country, swells into importance, by the liberal contributions of his vassals, and seems to treat them with supercilious disdain, on account of that superiority to which they have so abundantly contributed.

These beauties of Nature are variegated and enlivened by castles and mountains, some of which are entire; others are rendered more venerable by their forming majestic ruins; some are placed on the summit of a cliff, others in the bosom of a mountain. Numberless towns and villages also proximate to the borders of the river,

river, manifestly courting protection from the hills, and plenty from the stream, add a beauty to the prospect.

Such are the romantic scenes which continue without interruption from Bonn to Andernach, that is placed at the opposite end of the defile. They furnish innumerable points of view, worthy the pencil of the landscape painter, while their antiquities enrich the pages of history. I have selected two or three specimens, which struck me the most, but shall reserve them until my return by water*.

Surely does every traveller, born of English parents, manifest his origin by his impatience. The moment he has placed himself in his carriage, he thinks it the incumbent duty of the driver to post away as fast as high fed horses can gallop! Should their road lead through Paradise itself; or should they have taken a long and tedious journey, expressly to see the garden of Eden, it is a question whether our impetuous gentlemen would not tip the post-boy half-a-crown extraordinary to mend his pace, as they were driving through it! We discovered something of this disposition within us, upon

* See the views of *Sebengebiete*, *Lintz*, *Hammerstein*, and *Andernach*, towards the close of this volume.

the commencement of our journey; and it was with some degree of vexation that we observed our chaise and four to go with the solemn pace of a carriers waggon. It was in vain that we petitioned, remonstrated, threatened; our charioteer engaged to conduct us safe to Coblenz in the course of the day; and as he could not return to Bonn the same evening, he desired nothing more. However, in proportion as the romantic scenes began to increase upon us, and engage our attention, we began to be reconciled to the slow movement of our vehicle.

As we advanced southwards, the defile became narrower, the rocks more lofty and perpendicular, and a correspondent interruption of the cheerful day, gave a sombre dignity to the prospect. But when we approached to Andernach, we were able to prognosticate our future enlargement, by a suffusion of light, a luminous corona of ample magnitude to widening mountains. At Andernach the scene opened to an extensive circus, or plain, surrounded with the retiring hills.

We refreshed ourselves, our horses, and indolent coachman at this place, and enjoyed a much better repast than the appearance of our inn had disposed us to expect. Andernach is a very ancient city. Much has been said, and may

may be said, concerning it; but I shall defer what I have to say until our return.

About half way between Andernach and Coblenz, is an ancient turret, distinguished by the name of *Weisse Thur*, or White Tower. Adjacent to this tower is an hamlet, where the public-house makes the most conspicuous figure. Consequently it could not be overlooked by the driver; consequently, his horses wanted refreshment;—the necessary consequence of this was the driver wanted a dram;—the natural consequence of which was a gossip and a romp with a frolicsome servant maid. Nearly opposite to this turret, on the other side of the river, the new city of *Neuwied* presents itself to view. Its situation, adjacent to the borders of the river, and at the bottom of a range of hills, together with the magnificence of the princes' palaces, and of other public as well as private buildings, gave it somewhat the appearance of your Greenwich, as viewed from the Isle of Dogs. Perceiving that our coachman was not in haste to quit the public-house, and as we began to be indifferent about arriving early in the day at Coblenz, we embraced the opportunity which our conductor most cheerfully granted us, hired a boat, passed the river, and took a general view of the town. This peep, together with
a second

a second visit, upon our return by water, has enabled me to give you a circumstantial, and not uninteresting account of this place, which shall also be reserved until I am more at leisure.

Without any further remarks or impediments, you may now suppose us within a sight of Coblentz, which presents its best front to the view of a traveller, as he approaches from the side of Andernach. The pleasant villa of *Shoaborastuft*, belonging to the Electoral Family, and contiguous to the city; the majestic castle of *Ehrenbreitstein*, built upon a stupendous rock; the ancient palace, with its dependent hamlet, called the vale of Ehrenbreitstein; at the foot of these hills, and placed under their guardianship; the surrounding monasteries that seem to mitigate the ideas of horrid war, excited by castles and forts, by suggesting those of devout retirement; the union of the Moselle with the Rhine; the flying bridge over the latter, and the bridge of stone over the former; the distant view of lofty hills that encircle the town in the southern direction, and by losing themselves with the winding of the river towards the south-east, leave the imagination to follow them;—all conspire to render the situation of Coblentz peculiarly picturesque.

Vol. II.

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We

We passed over the Moselle bridge, entered at the northern part, and drove to the post-house, situated at nearly the opposite extremity of the city. This house was recommended to us as being in the first class of hotels: nor had we any cause to contradict the opinion.

As at most of the inns and hotels upon the road, there was at the post-house also, a *Table d'Hôte*. The phrase cannot be literally translated by the word *Ordinary*, as it properly signifies that strangers and guests eat at the same table with the family. This was peculiarly the case at our inn. A small company was at supper when we entered, and quite in the family way. The mistress of the house, placed at the upper end, performed the honours of the table, with a female acquaintance on the one side, and her daughter on the other, while the husband paid due attention to his guests at the lower end. The master of the house appeared a plain civil landlord. The females were genteel, both in their dress and manners. We had scarcely taken our seats, but we were accosted by the daughter, in the English language, with a degree of propriety that surprised us, when we were informed that she had no other opportunity of acquiring her knowledge than what Coblenz afforded. Two or three gentlemen also announced

nounced to us some acquaintance with the English, by addressing a Count *Bauermann* in that language, paying a servile attention to all his titles in almost every phrase; and they were answered by him with the rising accent of a languid *Petit-maitre*.

We rose early the next morning; and, under the guidance of a *Cicerone*, who had been engaged the preceding evening, we sallied forth to reconnoitre the town.

I have already observed, that Coblentz is situated adjacent to the conflux of the Moselle with the Rhine. This union forms a triangle, on which the city is placed. It is a city of great antiquity. From a passage in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, it appears that it was defended by a castle, at a much earlier period than any other station on this part of the Rhine. *Per hos tractus nullum Castellum visitur, nisi apud Confluentes, locum ita cognominatum, ubi annis Mosella infunditur Rheno.*

As this spot was termed *apud confluentes* by the Romans, it is easy to trace the derivation of the name *Coblentz*. The German language frequently confounds, as we should term it, those letters which are pronounced with a similar position of the organs of speech, as the b, p, d, t, and also the f, v, and b. Hence *Confluentia*

was pronounced *Convoluentia*, and *Conbluentia*; this was contracted to *Coblentia*, and finally received the Germanic termination *Coblentz*. What think you of the turns and windings of this etymological conjecture? Upon my word, I am quite proud of it. I only wish that I had practised a little upon some dead language; for I am persuaded that a similar stroke or two would have been amply sufficient, as the world goes, to constitute me a scholar of the first magnitude.

Coblentz was frequently the seat of the Roman Emperors, and Kings of the Franks, being, from its central situation, and perhaps from the superior security it afforded, most conveniently situated for the political business of the empire. It was a portion of the empire until about the year 1018, when it became an independent ecclesiastical city, being given by *Heinrich* the Second, to *Pappo*, Archbishop of Treves. It has generally been the favourite residence of the Archbishops and Electors of Treves. Historians inform us also, that the Bishops, in ancient and turbulent times, resided in the strong fortrefs of *Ebrenbreitstein*; but in times of greater tranquillity they ventured to descend into the vale.

In my account of the city of Cologne, I was so deeply immersed in ecclesiastical affairs, that I feel no inclination to dwell upon the same subject in my description of other cities. You may guess at the external state of religion, simply by my announcing to you, that there are in this city two colleges, and three parish churches, and the church which formerly belonged to the Jesuits. This provision you will say is very moderate. But there are also four convents for Monks of the four different orders, the *Dominicans*, the *Franciscans*, *Carmelites*, and *Capuchins*, and three for Nuns. I shall not detain you with a particular history of the antiquities, relicts, or paintings preserved in these different buildings destined to the purposes of devotion, and pious retirement, as few of them possess any characteristic excellency. Nor will we discuss the question which of these fabrics is the most ancient, or by whom they were endowed. Should you think of making this tour, I would advise you to consult the German and French authors already mentioned upon these articles. I could indeed recommend to you the *Antiquitates Rheni*, were the work not too voluminous for a pocket companion, as it consists of several large volumes in quarto.

From the above hint you will perceive how impracticable it would be for me to enlarge in the description of every place we have visited, or of every church we looked into. My sole aim is to satisfy that degree of curiosity which you may possibly entertain *at home*, which, to my great consolation, must be very inferior to that which would be excited, were you upon the spot. I shall therefore finish my church history of Coblenz, with informing you, that the remains of the ambitious *Kuno de Falkenstein* rest in the collegiate church of St. Castor, who never experienced rest, as long as he had a living fibre to be put into motion.

It is said, that about twenty years ago, Coblenz was far behind all the adjacent cities, in every article of civilization and social life : that the people were illiterate, and superstitious to a high degree, and slaves to many absurd and expensive customs. However, it is acknowledged, that since the above period, their progress towards improvement has been very rapid, and that the city advances every day in buildings, manners, knowledge, and riches. The number of inhabitants, including the garrison, and the vale of Ehrenbreitstein, is computed at about 12 or 13000.

Their present sovereign, the Elector Clement Vencelas, who is a Prince Royal of Poland,
has

has made many beneficial regulations. He has checked the extravagancies of funeral pomp and costly mournings, by which many families had nearly ruined themselves, lest their deviation from established customs should be interpreted into the want of respect for the deceased. He has established an insurance office against the ravages of fire;—he has repaired the public roads, at a very considerable expence;—he has reformed the manner of teaching in the Gymnasium, or public school, by substituting lectures in various branches of useful knowledge to the metaphysical subtleties of the ancient schools;—he has also established schools for children of the lower class, to which he has obliged the richer convents to contribute, and has set them the example by liberal donations. In short this Prince is universally spoken of with respect; and, happy for his subjects, the man of benevolence and the philosopher, have gained the ascendancy over the ecclesiastic.

About six or eight years ago, a society was erected solely for the purposes of mental improvement. Each member subscribes a *Louis d'or* per annum, towards the support of the house, and collecting of a public library, as well as various philosophical instruments. Their collection of useful publications is encreasing

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annually.

annually. Every member has free access to the library every hour of the day, and has liberty to introduce a stranger.

I am convinced that the above information will give more satisfaction to your benevolent heart, than the most accurate description of tombs of saints, or collections of their most precious relicts. I might also add, that there are some private cabinets of paintings; and of natural history; among these the cabinet of the Canon *Unbescheiden* has a decided superiority. He has a large collection of paintings from the Flemish and Italian schools, as well as from the French and German. His natural history chiefly consists of birds, elegantly arranged, and in good preservation.

LETTER XXXIV.

Coblentz.

COBLENTZ is not an handsome city. The houses in general are antiquated, and the pavement is irregular. The principal street runs from the *Moselle* bridge to the *Rhein-Thor*, or Rhine-Port. There are several hotels of ancient nobility in it, but they are chiefly built in the most retired part of a *Basse-cour*, and add little to its splendour. A square is building, adjacent to the new palace of the Elector, which, when finished, will, in unison with that magnificent edifice, become a great ornament to the town. The houses are to be in the modern taste, and the square, which will serve as the parade, will be planted with lime-trees, to furnish a noon day's walk.

Nor is the situation of Coblentz so agreeable for a perpetual residence, as many other cities on the borders of the Rhine. It is more romantic than cheerful, and is too mountainous to afford the agreeable walk in various directions.

It

It strikes the occasional visitor with a gloomy grandeur, but furnishes no shady grove or undulated plain, excepting on the side of *Andernach*, for the evening peripatetic, or the rural horseman.

The inhabitants complain that they are not so well supplied with river-fish, as in every other part of this mighty river. The deficiency is ascribed to the agitation occasioned by the union of the two streams. The sudden admission of so large a mass of water as the *Moselle*, excites too much commotion for the peaceful inhabitants of the deep, particularly the Rhine-crab and the perch. As the waters of the *Moselle* are much clearer than those of the Rhine, the distinction of the two streams may be traced at a considerable distance. I hope that this confession will not excite any prejudices in your mind against my favourite. Consider, good Sir, what a long meandering journey the Rhine has taken before it arrived at Coblenz, compared with the *Moselle*! How many lakes, and how many rivers; what torrents of melted snow, and hasty rains, bringing with them half the loosened earth of the mountains of Switzerland, it is obliged to receive into its bosom; while the *Moselle* only makes a short trip
from

from neighbouring Alsace, and scarcely admits a brook.

Notwithstanding the above disadvantages, the Elector gives this spot the preference to any other part of his domains. As an incontestable proof of his attachment to Coblenz, he has lately built, or is rather finishing, a very elegant and sumptuous palace, on the eastern border of the Rhine.

Whoever stands on this border, and contemplates the face of the old palace, in the vale of *Ehrenbreitstein*, will regret that it should be put out of countenance by its opposite rival. And whoever visits the elegant apartments, and views the rich tapestries and painted ceilings that adorn them, will be supposed to conclude, that ambition itself ought to sit down contented with them. But necessity has no law.— The extreme humidity of its situation, which renders it unhealthy in the winter season; the inconveniences to which it is exposed from immense floats of ice, that sometimes besiege it; and above all the increasing danger of its being crushed by the fall of rocks hanging over its head, have induced the Elector to place his residence on the eastern shore.

You will have perceived already, that I am not very fond of describing palaces and stately mansions,

mansions, but as this is so recent a building, and so universally admired for the taste displayed in it, I shall endeavour to give you some general ideas of it.

The grand façade is very elegant. The central building is three stories in elevation. Eight pillars of the Ionic order support a balcony, which projects in such a manner as to form a piazza, or vestibule beneath it, through which company may pass, sheltered from rain, to the grand entrance. Arcades on each side, where the different offices are placed, constitute the wings of the mansion, and trace an area, forming the *basse-cour*, which is separated from the square, or grand parade, mentioned above, by iron palisades of curious workmanship.

The most elegant apartments are on the second story, to which you are conducted by a spacious stair-case, supported by stately columns. The principal apartments consist of the dining-room, contiguous to which is the breakfasting saloon on the one side, and on the other a superior kind of servants-hall, destined to the rehearsal of a grand entertainment before the public exhibition; a concert room and audience chamber; to these succeed the Elector's cabinet, which is a species of library; the chapel, and other rooms adjacent, of inferior note.

The

The dining-room is ornamented with various statues, mounted on elegant pedestals, and placed each in its respective niche. Among these the goddess Ceres not only appears with peculiar propriety, as being the emblem of abundance; but in the coldest season she diffuses a kindly warmth over the guests assembled in this spacious hall, and also over the concert-room, and audience-chamber. To speak unenigmatically, the figure of Ceres adorns a stove or oven, which conveys the heat by means of pipes, through these three apartments.

The concert room is large and spacious, formed upon a commodious and elegant plan, and promises to be very majestic when completed. The audience-chamber is as elegant as imagination could devise. After having exhausted her best efforts here, what she will do in the next palace she is to adorn, I know not. The floor is most beautifully inlaid with costly woods of different kinds, in divers shapes, and variegated colours, and kept in the smoothest order. The tapestry is of silk, being the cunning needle-work of one of the Royal Damsels of the household of Bavaria. The mantle-piece of Italian marble, wrought by a Paris artist, in a most princely stile. The ceiling was painted by Zick, and we will hope that it

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is an emblem of the owner's character, as it represents Justice commanding the Virtues to punish Vice. Some paintings by those distinguished Frenchmen, *David* and *Manegot*, are also destined to preach virtue in the midst of grandeur, by representing the continence of Scipio, the clemency of Augustus, and the liberality of Mark Antony.

I shall leave you to furnish this apartment with chandeliers, chairs, sofas, &c. in a correspondent style.

Of all these splendid apartments, my soul would sit down with most contentment in the breakfasting or coffee saloon, as it is termed. The concert salle is majestic, but proud; the audience chamber has such a forbidding elegance, that it is equally comfortable to sit or stand in it. The size of the coffee saloon is about the dimensions of a reasonable wish; it is furnished with an elegant simplicity, that is within the compass of enjoyment; it is hung with a placid, yet vivid green, and ornamented with a series of paintings, about thirty-six in number, by the celebrated German painter *Dietrich*, or *Dieterich*. Some of these represent scenes of Scripture history; others the principal incidents in the life of St. *Francis Xavier*, and others are very pleasing landscapes.

The

The prospect from the windows of this apartment is also extensive and lively. You will not be surprised that I omit the library, when I tell you that it was not furnished. Besides, much would depend upon the kind of furniture. Should the Elector, by virtue of his character of Archbishop, think himself obliged to lay in a large store of Monkish legends, or of Polemical divinity, I should still prefer my coffee-room. For after having tasted of both, I really think the Germans have a much better hand at making coffee than in making systems of theology.

The upper rooms are chiefly dormitories. The bed-room of the *Elector* possesses elegance becoming that character. The *Archbishop* has superadded a cabinet adjacent to the side of his bed, which being opened, exhibits a silver crucifix, decorated with precious stones, and surrounded with various holy relics in gaudy attire. A crimson velvet cushion is placed for the elbows, and another at the command of his knees. Thus furnished, and thus accommodated, his Grace may kneel, morning and evening, with the most gentleman-like elegance, and breathe forth, with all humility, "Lord have mercy upon me, miserable sinner."

As the Germans, notwithstanding the many other excellencies they possess, have not made
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a distinguished figure in the class of painters ; and as Dietrich is universally deemed a “ *rara avis in terra Germanica*,” you will not be displeased with the outlines of his history. Dietrich was born in the year 1712, the son of John George Dietrich, painter at the Court of Vienna, who instructed him in the first principles of his art ; and at twelve years of age placed him under the tuition of *Alexander Theile*, a man of some renown at *Dresden*. In the year 1728, he was employed under the direction of his tutor in painting for the country seat of King Augustus, at Mühlberg, where he distinguished himself by the figure of Diana bathing ; and he was soon after appointed to the office of Court-painter. Upon the death of his patron, he received an annual pension of 400 rixthalers from Count Brühl. In the year 1741, he became Court-painter to Augustus the Third, and at the expence of his sovereign, was permitted to visit Rome, where his progress was proportionate to his own genius, and the advantages he enjoyed in that seminary of the fine arts. Upon his return, he was elected as first professor by the Academy of Painting at *Dresden*, with an annual stipend of 600 rixthalers. He died in the year 1774, laden with accumulated honours, being, at the period of his decease,

Royal

Royal Polish, and *Saxon* Electoral Court Painter, Professor at the Academy at Dresden, Director of the School for Painting at Meissen, where the Porcelain Fabric is established, and Member of the Academies of Augsburg and Bologna. The multitude of his works dispersed through various parts of Germany, demonstrate both his assiduity and expedition.

The genius of Dietrich seems rather to have been imitative than original; but then he had the singular talent of imitating, to a high degree of perfection, masters who possessed opposite excellencies. His paintings from Sacred History were after the manner of *Rembrandt*. His peasants resembled those of *Wille*. In his conversation pieces he is said to have copied after and surpassed *Wattau*. But his landscapes are the chief sources of his renown; in which the beauties of *Everdingen*, *Bergbem*, *Claude*, *Lorrain*, and *Poelemburg* are united. These are acknowledged to possess a richness and variety in the design, judgment and taste in the arrangement, a warmth, but nothing extravagant, in the execution, a boldness without being harsh. The colouring is vivid, but not gaudy, and so permanent, that his earliest performances appear as fresh as if they just came from his pencil.

I shall now take my leave of the Electoral Palace, pass by the Playhouse, Bath, and other places of inferior note, though our Cicerone would not immediately go with you over the river to the vale of Ehrenbreitstein.

It would be deemed an offence against curiosity and taste, not to visit and admire the Elector's splendid yacht that is moored on the eastern side of the river. It exceeds in ornament the finest you can exhibit on a Lord-Mayor's-day. Due pains have been taken, not only to render it as elegant as possible within, but as commodious. Like pantomimic scenery, chairs, couches, and tables are made to fold up at will, in order to give more room for smaller companies. By touching a spring in one corner, out starts a side-board at your service; from another a writing-desk, and in a third, the doors open as by enchantment, and exhibit a small altar, decorated with religious finery.

On this eastern side of the Rhine, and not far distant from the vale of Ehrenbreitstein, towards the south, are mineral springs. But as no physician has written them and himself into repute, they are much neglected, and of consequence we did not deem them worthy of our attention.

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We ascended the mighty mountain on which the Castle of Ehrenbreitstein is built, by a narrow, steep, and winding path. Our guide wished us to halt about the midway, that we might take a view of the genuine garment, without a seam, worn by our Saviour. This was deposited in a chapel dug out of the rock, to be under the immediate protection of the fortress. But we declined the proposal, from the most ingenuous motives. As there are several other claimants to the same honour in different parts of Europe, we were apprehensive that the sight alone might bring our minds under an undue bias in its preference; and we determined to keep our judgments unretained, until all the evidence concerning this important subject should come before us.

It is asserted, that the castle built upon the summit of this stupendous rock, is not less than eight hundred feet in a perpendicular line from the level of the river. The castle is very ancient.

From the quotation already given, its priority to any on this part of the Rhine is obvious. It is thought, when supported by a competent garrison, to be impregnable. It has acquired this character of impregnability from the resistance it made in the time of the Swedish wars.

Eighty thousand of the French troops on the southern side of it, and forty thousand on the northern, could not make the least impression. It has a communication with the city of Coblenz, by subterraneous passages, cut out of the solid rock, and it is plentifully supplied with water, from a well 280 feet in depth, which oozes through the surfaces of the neighbouring hills. This well was dug by order of the Elector Jean the Second, Margrave of Baden, who repaired the castle in the year 1481. The workmen were employed three years in the arduous undertaking.

A large square, or parade, is formed in the fortress, by the arrangement of the barracks, arsenal, prison, and other buildings. In the centre of this square is placed a cannon, supposed to be the largest in Europe. It was founded at *Francfort*, by order of the Elector *Richard Greifenklau*, (Anglicé Griffon's claws.) It weighs 300 quintals, and projects a ball of 180 pounds, as far as Andernach, that is, from twelve to sixteen miles. It supports two griffons, in honour of its principal, instead of the customary dolphins. Respecting its other good qualities, I shall leave it to speak for itself, which it does by the following inscription, placed contiguous to the touch-hole. *Vogel Greif*

*Greif beis ich, meinem gnädigen berrn von Trier
dinn ich, wo er mich beist gewalden, da will ich
dobrn und mauren zuspalten. Simon gos mich,
1528. i. e. Griffon is my name; I serve my
gracious master of Treves; I shatter gates and
walls, wherever he commands me to exert my
force. Simon cast me, 1528.*

Notwithstanding these natural and artificial advantages, the Elector's military force is so inconsiderable, that little resistance could be expected in an hour of danger. The military establishment does not exceed fifteen hundred men; of which number, by the way, eight hundred were ordered to march to the assistance of the prince bishop of *Liege*, the day preceding our arrival. You will be surprised at the smallness of the army, when I inform you, that a common man costs not more than five cruitzers per day; that is about one penny three-farthings, and a serjeant only six, or two-pence.

The prospect from this eminence is majestic, extensive, and variegated. Towards the west, the eye penetrates over, and through the divisions of inferior mountains into Lorraine; towards the front it commands the town and its environs. In the northern and southern directions, it traces the windings of the river amidst the hills. The stream that flows at its

feet, is decorated with two small islands, on each of which is placed a Convent.

The inclination of the rock is very obvious upon a side-view ; yet its amazing height makes it appear almost perpendicular from the summit ; and the first idea suggested to one apprehensive of falling from the battlements, would be, that the river would receive him. We were informed, that a French prisoner, in the wars alluded to, was seduced by this appearance. Wearied of confinement, and urged by the hopes of regaining liberty, he attempted to spring into the stream ; several of his ribs were broken by his fall against the declivity of the hill. In this state he rolled into the river, passed it, and crawled as far as Andernach, where he perished the day following.

The arsenal is richly provided with arms, ancient and modern ; but I met with nothing worthy of particular attention, or unusual, excepting it was some fire-arms, so constructed, that the bayonet sprang up and fixed itself in a proper direction, by means of a trigger appropriated to the purpose. If some unknown inconvenience should not attend this mode, it most certainly promises a great economy of time. After passing through three or four apartments in the arsenal, and being conducted
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to nearly the centre of the building, the veteran soldier who conducted us, perceived that he had forgotten a key ; and through his minute attention to military order, he shut every door upon us, while he went in search of it. Had this man died suddenly in the intermediate time ; had he been a malicious enemy, or been allured by the possibility of an advantage, how deplorable would have been our situation ! I confess, that, during his absence, our sensations were of the kind that we welcomed him on his return as our deliverer.

While we were speculating upon this event, as we were descending the hill, with some degree of horror, at the very possibility of being thus detained, we met two guards of the citadel, conducting a malefactor to the dungeon we had contemplated some minutes before, through its iron rails. He seemed to be a labourer, and about thirty years of age. The pale anguish that was strongly marked on his countenance, received, as he approached towards us, a momentary alleviation, by the hopes that we should bestow a boon, to operate like that drop of water on the tongue of a richer sinner. The sight of his agonies, at the dreadful instant in which he was to be precluded from the light of day—torn from a family, whose indigency had,

perhaps, seduced him to commit the crime of theft—deprived of that first of natural blessings, liberty—his mind foreboding harsh treatment from his keepers—without a prospect of termination to present misery, but by the execution of some terrible sentence of punishment—the small specimen we had had of momentary captivity—the dreadful catastrophe of the French prisoner, in following his instinct for freedom—all exerted their combined influence upon us in so forcible a manner, that we were disposed to pardon any fault he might have committed, excepting murder; and to wish that he had offended ourselves, that we might have enjoyed the power of forgiving. Benevolent instinct prompted us to be very liberal; but we were apprehensive that these delegates of justice would, without scruple or remorse, surpass the crime of their prisoner, by robbing the wretch so completely in their power. The unhappy man's gratitude for what we gave him, afforded a short suspension of his misery.

We returned to the inn at the hour of dinner. The company of the preceding evening were present, with the addition of some other gentlemen. They gave us every necessary information respecting our intended rout; and being
informed

informed of our intention to visit *Mentz*, and *Francfort*, and to return by the Rhine, they unanimously advised us to go immediately to *Francfort*, and to return by *Mentz*; as by cutting off the angle, we should gain at least half a day, and avoid some very bad roads. But the motive which had made us so impatient to leave *Dusseldorf* again prevailed. As we were disappointed respecting letters at *Cologne*, my friend ordered his correspondent to forward any that should arrive after our departure, to Mr. M——'s, at *Mentz*. The plan being settled, and horses ordered to set off immediately after dinner, we had time to contemplate the respectable Count *Bauermann*, in whom indolence, affectation, and effeminacy were intimately united. Every sentence forced from his lips was uttered with an indolent languor. But the most interesting part of his conversation related to himself. He complained of nervous head-achs; of being troubled with the vapours; confessed that he sat at table not to eat, but *pour chasser l'ennui*, for a few moments. My friend observed, that had the Count traversed the city, and mounted the rocks of *Ehrenbreitstein* with us, he would have been cured of all his complaints. An universal smile indicated that this
mental

mental physician had found out the disease by the remedy he prescribed.

I must confess, my dear Sir, that the sight of an effeminate *Petit-maitre* always inspires me with melancholy. A thousand ideas of the lugubrious kind immediately present themselves to my imagination. I sometimes pity him for being so discontented with his sex, as to make perpetual, somewhat promising, and yet ineffectual efforts to change it. At other times I view in the person of a *Petit-maitre* a specimen of the human species, that, in its eager attempts to escape rude and savage nature, passes rapidly into the region of monkies, without once stopping at man !

BAUERMANN properly signifies husbandman, or cultivator ; and if there be any truth in etymology, some one of Count Bauermann's ancestors must have been an industrious labourer, who cultivated the fruits of the earth, and this his offspring starts forth a butterfly that consumes them ! It was, doubtless, the masculine strength, undaunted courage, or mental powers of some ancestor that attracted the notice, and received the patronage of his sovereign ; and thus ennobled the race : but behold what a shameful miracle ! Heart of oak has begotten

ten a very tooth-pick ! Hands of iron are degenerated into machines, to sustain Bruffel's lace ! Courage, unsubdued by an host of enemies, has produced a son dying of the vapours, and trembling at a rude breath of air ! Mental powers, that regulated domestic, and awed foreign politics, are succeeded by a pericranium that reflects honour upon no soul living, excepting its hair-dresser ! ! ! And this thing recalls to remembrance, with a blush, the MAN that gave rise to its existence, because his name was not preceded by an unmeaning appellation.

LETTER XXXV.

Ems, Nassau, &c.

THE distance from Coblentz to Mentz is not more than fourteen leagues: but as there was nothing peculiarly interesting to detain us longer at *Coblentz*, and as the roads had a bad reputation, we resolved to pass a night at *Nassau*, which is about six leagues from Coblentz.

We set out immediately after dinner, and ascended the lofty mountains on which the Castle of *Ehrenbreitstein* is built. The platform on the summit of which seemed to constitute a kind of landing-place, some degrees nearer the clouds. This sudden elevation *flattered our pride*. We looked down with a degree of triumph on all the inferior objects, notwithstanding the satisfaction they had so lately afforded us. However, when these objects were out of sight, and every thing around us appeared our equals, we gradually awoke from

from our dreams of superiority, and could no longer perceive the difference between our former humble, and our present elevated situation.

Our road was for some time over a vast plain by the side of a forest, on our left hand; on our right the sportive varieties of nature soon began to arrest our attention, and afford us great amusement. We looked down upon hills and mountains of different shapes, sizes, and materials, the various projections of which were manifestly united to one common base; fertile vales between them, obviously formed by the deposition of materials from the summit, washed down by hasty showers, and by numberless rivulets, that left their traces on the sides of the hills, exhibited a most agreeable picturesque scene. In some parts one might suspect that a whirlwind created a vortex, in half-fluid materials, at the instant they were acquiring consistence, and that large, deep, and inaccessible funnels were thus formed. In other parts, Nature seemed to have been perfectly at rest, and to have let the process go on uninterruptedly, until the last particle of matter, according to the modern system of mountain making, was deposited in a point. The vales
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suspended between the hills were richly cultivated, although in some places they seemed scarcely accessible to the husbandman. Those cavities and inclinations that were too steep for artificial culture, Nature took under her own immediate care, and she planted them with a variety of shrubs.

While we were amusing ourselves with these pleasing views, on a sudden we experienced that the complaints we had heard concerning the badness of the roads were not exaggerated. Turning short by the corner of a hedge, one of our horses fell into a deep slough, in which the wheels of our carriage on the left side were instantly buried. The depth of the rut prevented us from being overturned, as the bottom of our chaise rested upon the ground. We now experienced, for the first time, the great advantage of having *four* horses in our equipage; two of which we had hitherto considered as supernumeraries. These served to help a brother in distress; without which resource we should have been obliged to apply to the nearest village for additional help.

Between two and three leagues from Coblenz lies the small city of *Ems*. It is built in
a deep

a deep valley, in a chink, formed by the contiguity of two opposite mountains. The descent to it is very rapid; and as our horses were hurrying down towards the gate that was to admit us *into* the city, we not only perceived the opposite gate that was to be our *out-let*, but at the first instant we were under some apprehensions that our horses would strike their foreheads against the side of a rock, that seemed from our point of view to stop up the passage; apprehending that our charioteer could not be able to check their course; but he managed affairs very dexterously; he drove through the town, turned short to the right hand, in the road between the rock and the city-walls, and conducted us with safety to an inn in the suburbs, where he wished to refresh his horses and himself.

This inn had no brilliant appearance. Every apartment within our view was filthy and mean; and yet we learned it was not among the humblest receptacles for strangers. Our surprise was, of consequence, not a little excited, when the landlord expressed a full expectation that we intended to pass some weeks at *Ems*. We soon learned, however, that *Ems* is one of those numerous places where the idle and the
vale-

valetudinarian pay their annual visits to bathe, drink the waters, and to game.

Our obliging host wanted much to persuade us that a few weeks warm bathing would be of excellent service to our healths ; and to enhance the virtues of the waters, he assured us, that much genteel company was at this place, and that more was daily expected. It was in vain we told him our temperaments did not require relaxing medicaments. He urged that the salubrious air of the surrounding hills would soon brace us up again ; and to lay a stronger temptation in our way, he insisted upon shewing us the neatness and convenience of the baths. To this proposition we could have no objection ; and we assured him, upon the view of them, that if the warm bath should ever appear an advisable remedy for our case ; and if we were influenced in our choice, merely by the neatness and convenience of the baths, we should give our preference to these of *Ems*.

We were much surprised to learn, that not less than nearly two hundred persons had placed themselves in this fissure of the hills, either to be parboiled for their different complaints, or to amuse themselves with miniature gaming, in order to be duly prepared for higher circles ; as
country

country comedians are ripening for the *metropolis*; or as the little devils of *Rabelais* thundered and lightened over cabbages, in order to bring their hands in for greater mischiefs.

All his eloquence proved unsuccessful. We returned to our carriage—drove for some miles by the side of the river *Lone*, through a lovely vale—mounted hills—dipped into vallies—evaded the steep declivity of some mountains, by winding round their sides, and boldly ascended others, until we arrived at the ancient city of *Nassau*.

This town is of a considerable size. Its situation is very Romanesque; but to external appearance it is impoverished. Indeed, most of the secondary towns in Germany have the same appearance; but in general they are fully indemnified, by possessing every thing in great abundance, excepting *money*, that *irritamentum malorum*. The surprise of finding so large a town in so remote a region; the view of a fortress built upon the cliff of a rock; and of the ruins of various other castles, which adorn the neighbouring mountains, united to render the scene singularly striking.

We drove, as advised, to the Post-office; the proprietor of which acts in the double capacity of farmer and landlord. We were conducted

into a very large; and not an inelegant apartment, which serves for occasional balls, and weekly clubs; and becomes, at stated periods, a court of justice. A much greater abundance was provided for our supper than we required, and our lodgings were neat, clean, and comfortable.

The window of our grand apartment commanded a view of the ruins of an ancient castle, placed on the summit, or rather the pinnacle of a very high and steep mountain, that raised its majestic brow over the opposite barn. We were not a little surprised to learn that this was the original mansion of the *Nassau* family; than which no one has been more distinguished either for its numerous ramifications, or for the important parts they have acted in the turbulent periods of history. I had time to take a sketch of it, which I shall enclose in this letter.

The next morning early we pursued our journey. After descending a gentle declivity, we passed a rivulet by a ferry, of which we were informed the Prince of Orange is the proprietor. He made us pay dear for our passage,

The rivulet was soon lost among the hills, and we continued our way by gently ascending the side of a bulky mountain. It seemed to
consist



The Ruins of Nagasaki Castle in the Principality of Nagasaki.

Published by Johnston, London, May 1876.



consist entirely of *quartz*, or slate, of which vast heaps that fell from the cliffs in many places, almost obstructed our passage. A pleasant vale was on our right side, variegated with lesser hills and irregularities, in a manner similar to the preceding, only upon a smaller scale.

We finally gained the summit of the mountain, which brought us to a very extensive plain, that seemed to form the second stage of our approach towards the heavens. The southern horizon was skirted with hills. On our right side, towards the south-west, we could trace a fissure in the range of hills, through which passed our friend the *Rhine*; and although his waters were no longer visible to our bodily organs, a blue and condensed atmosphere rising from, and winding with the vale, assured our mental optics of their presence. On our left hand the fields of yellow grain seemed to be in hourly expectation of the sickle.

We continued our course over this elevated plain for some hours, dipping occasionally into a village, to pay a toll-gate, or to refresh or change our horses.

At length our appetites and our watches united to convince us that it was about two

o'clock. Seeing no place throughout an extensive horizon, where we could satisfy our hunger, excepting a village two or three miles before us, we began, in conformity to this unpromising appearance, to moderate our desires to an egg, or a mutton-chop and salad.

The village appeared to us, from the elevated downs over which we passed, to have a very insignificant mine. It was built in so narrow a vale, between such steep and lofty hills, that the horse of an ancient Knight-errant could have sprung over it, without any other danger than that of pricking his flanks with the point of the steeple. But lo ! as we drove up to an inn, we heard the sound of the viol and the harp, of men fingers, and of women fingers, and the voice of rejoicing. Two smart waiters, with powder and pomatum-encrusted heads, and napkins in their hands, ran in emulation to our carriage, opened the door, lent their obliging arms, and welcomed us to *Schwalbach*, the celebrated *Schwalbach*, the *Matlock* of this part of Germany.

We were conducted into a large room, full of very genteel company, who were just sat down to a most splendid entertainment. We took our seats next to a German Baron, and a French

French Officer, who had most obligingly procured places for us at their table.

The Prophet says, how beautiful are the feet of him that bringeth *glad* tidings ! But had the Prophet been at *Schwalbach*, sequestered from the world for several weeks, exposed to the fameness of society, where all the old stock of conversation was exhausted, he would have exclaimed, " Blessed are the feet of him that bring tidings of any kind." The current news of the day was heard with eagerness ; every thing we related occasioned a momentary suspension of knives and forks in every part of the room.

We had received certain information, while at *Cleves*, of the defeat of the King of *Sweden*, by the naval forces of the Empress. When we brought these tidings to *Dusseldorf*, we derived some degree of importance, from being able to confirm the general rumour. At *Cologne* the news was received by several officers at the public table, with some degree of pleasure, as feeding the appetite for something new, intermixed with much dissatisfaction. They supposed that the Empress would be more haughty in her demands ; the prospects of peace would be more remote, and that the whole German

empire might be drawn into a war. To this they manifested the greatest reluctance, and dropt some hints that mankind must finally be tired of being called forth to slaughter, in order to gratify the caprice and ambition of the great. At *Bonn* and *Coblentz* the news was acceptable, as conveying *interesting information*; and the newsmongers were respected. But at SCHWALBACH we were honoured as if we had been couriers from the Russian Court. Several gentlemen, from a distant table, crowded around us to know the particulars; and the room was immediately filled with speculations concerning the probable consequences of this defeat.

LETTER

LETTER XXXVI.

Schwalbach. Slangbach.

AT length our more circumscribed conversation turned upon the affairs of France. This afforded us an opportunity of discovering the prevailing ideas and dispositions of our two polite associates. The *Baron* freely confessed, that the Government of France was so infamous, that some reform was absolutely necessary. But he expressed his resentment that the *Tiers Etat* should manifest so strong a propensity to extend their newly-acquired influence to the prejudice of the *Nobles*. The French Officer, we learned, had served in America, against the English, in the late troubles. He manifested in his conversation, a disposition friendly to liberty, and to the natural rights of mankind; but still he regretted that France was approaching too much to *Republican* principles.

My friend thought this was rather an advantageous circumstance.

G 4

“ I hope

“ I hope, Sir, (answered the Officer) that I am a real lover of liberty ; but my only doubt is, in what manner it can be most effectually obtained and secured. In my opinion, the mode must vary according to contingencies. The same form of government cannot be adopted to nations of every description. Perhaps there is not upon the globe a large and populous country, adapted to receive a Republican form, excepting it be *America*. The Americans are an exception, because they are, as yet, in a state of simplicity. Their season of trial will arrive, when a large number of individuals become rich, luxurious, self-important, and intriguing. *Then* we are to learn whether internal troubles will not terminate in an oppressive *Aristocracy*. The Americans’ character, as it now stands, *may* support a Republican system ; but the character of the French, as it now stands, is the most *opposite* to it.”

My friend thought, in these remarks, that his opponent had indulged too implicit a confidence in the principles advanced by *Montesquieu*.

The Officer answers, “ You must grant, Sir, that Government has respect to *order* ; order requires submission to the rules proposed for its maintenance. But submission is much more attainable

attainable in a long established *Monarchy*, than in a *Republic*. Here it is hereditary, is considered as natural, and sits easy even upon those who are not of a servile temper. But in a *Republic*, submission is considered and felt as a *voluntary* act. The reflection of every man who thinks upon the subject, is, *I am equal to my principal*. It is by *my* suffrage that he holds the *reins*; and I will be ever watchful how he uses the *whip*."

He is quite in the right, replies my friend, this jealousy is the guardian of liberty.

"I dispute not his right, (answered the Officer) I am merely attempting to explain how it operates, and to justify my assertion, that France is not formed to be a Republic; I mean simply to shew, that, as in a Monarchy, and especially in an *absolute* Monarchy, the people are apt to bear too much; so in a *Republic* they are disposed to the contrary extreme. They take offence upon the slightest occasions, and to avoid the danger of submitting to great oppressions, are in arms at the distant appearance of slight ones. The only check to those natural effects of a Republican Government, lies in the characters and dispositions of the people. Where a great simplicity of manners prevails,—where the lower class of people think that their superiors

periors are much wiser than themselves, and are disposed to have an implicit confidence in them ; where the mechanic and the agriculturer never apply their thoughts to politics, and are contented with enjoying the fruits of their own labours, and in the free exercise of their religion, all may go well, supposing the Legislative and Executive Bodies to possess but a tolerable share of discretion. This appears to me the present state of America. But the natural impetuosity of my countrymen, the versatility of their dispositions, and the vanity which I confess is interwoven in our characters, induce almost every man in the kingdom peremptorily to decide upon every subject, will excite his ambition to be a member of the Legislative Body, directly or indirectly, and insist upon respect being paid to his decisions, upon every subject proposed. In short, a Republic would, in my opinion, at once let loose that enormous mass of self-consequence, which has been compressed in a Monarchical Government, to the destruction of every true principle of Legislation."

These sensible and candid observations and concessions, if they did not convince, silenced his opponent, and the conversation ceased.

I shall

I shall not enlarge upon the nature and virtues of the waters at Schwalbach, nor enumerate the wonders they have wrought. If we may judge from the quantity of viands, and the length of time we were at table, they must have a great tendency to promote an appetite; and, we will hope also, that they assist *digestion*.

They are of a similar nature to those at *Spa*, but they have a slighter impregnation, both of fixed air, and of chalybeate. The rooms are large and commodious, but destitute of elegance. The company have a ball twice a week; the other evenings are devoted to play. Between four and five o'clock our carriage stood ready, and we took leave of our new associates, with a considerable degree of regret.

It was our original design to pass by the way of *Cassel*, the prospect from which mount had been so highly celebrated; but our ignorance and inattention deprived us of that pleasure. We did not inform the driver of our intentions till we were advanced some way on the road, and then we found it was too late, as *Cassel* lies in another direction.

Since we could not enjoy the prospect from the mountains, we were obliged to content ourselves

selves with the pleasures of the vale. For the space of two hours, our road was contiguous to a rivulet on our left hand, whose banks, on the opposite side, were formed by hills of various heights and inclinations, mantled with variegated shrubs. On our right hand, a spacious forest extended its immeasurable length, adorned with the venerable oak, of remotest antiquity, and gigantic beech, and elms, &c. We contemplated it with the greater respect, as it was, doubtless, a remaining ramification of that immense *Hercynian* wood, which traversed so large a part of Germany, and is said to have been *sixty days* journey in extent.

There is no one object, perhaps, so calculated to strike the imagination, as an extensive forest. One may crowd a thousand ideas into it in a moment. If you should ever be tempted to write a romance, my good Sir, let your principal scenes, I beseech you, lie within, or contiguous to a forest. It will make you such a master of your subject, that you may begin, carry on, and terminate every event just as you please. A wood is a most excellent retreat for your pious hermit, from the vanities of the world, if you mean to introduce one; and it affords an abundance of nourishment for his moderate desires. A benighted

nighted traveller is best left in a wood : If your tale requires it, you may easily suffocate him in a slough ; or you may place the glimmering lamp at the one-paned window of an humble cottage, conduct him through briars and thorns, and whistling winds, and piercing cold, to the hospitable shed of a wood-cutter ; warm his chilled limbs with the faggots that lie ready at the door ; make his humble fare taste superior to the most delicate viands ; and his bed of straw softer to his wearied limbs than one of down.

A wood affords a safe retreat for lovers blessed and blessing ; while it yields, at every step, the most favourable opportunity for a desponding swain to end his misery, by suspending himself upon a tree.

The thick umbrageous forest offers a welcome shade, from the burning glow of the mid-day sun ; and the silver beams of the placid moon, twinkle most delightfully through the branches, after that scorching luminary has taken his leave of our hemisphere : or if you can dispense with her beams, you are free to light up as many glow-worms as you please, or now and then treat us with a Will-o'-the-wisp.

There

There are few forests so full of timber, and of underwood, but a platform may be found, for the young men and maidens of the neighbouring hamlet to enjoy the rural dance, at the sound of the pipe and tabor, as often as you please to permit them.

If the scene lies in *Germany*, you may, with the utmost propriety, stock your forests with every species of game. You may send the huntsmen in with their dogs, to start the hare, the partridge, the pheasant, the hart, or the wild boar. You may represent the young Lord of the district as the most eager in the pursuit, wandering, through the keenness of a sportsman, from his companions, bewildered, fatigued, and faint, arriving, by accident, at the habitation of a forester, entertained by the good woman of the house, in a most hospitable manner, falling in love with her beautiful daughter; and you may either help him to seduce her, or oblige him, by the irresistible charms of her person, and the invincible virtues of her mind, to demand her of the astonished parents in honourable marriage.

If you are fond of the horrible, you may let any number of wild beasts loose in the forest, and give them as much human blood to suck

as you chuse. If you are disposed for highway-robberies, you may place a desperate banditti in ambush, ready to dart upon unwary passengers, adding slaughter to rapine, and dragging the screaming or the fainting beauty to their inaccessible retreat. Are you disposed for the romantic? You may build an enchanted castle for some enormous giant, in the thickest part of the forest; surround it with a mote and draw-bridge; trace many a footstep to the dread abode, but not one on the return. Or you may enable him to convey the devoted victim to inevitable destruction, without a trace; for in a thick wood you have an opportunity of making a labyrinth as intricate as you please. But if there be a spark of humanity in your bosom, you will raise up a valiant knight, possessed of a counter charm, by which he subdues the tyrant, and sets the captives free.

If your taste lies in miniature pieces, you may create a legion of Elves and Fairies, give them a dance upon the green sod, put them to bed in a cowslip's bell, mount them on a bat's back, or give them an hazle-nut for their carriage,

Made by the joiner squirrel, or old grub,
 Time out of mind the Fairies coach maker,
 The waggon spokes made of long spiders' legs,
 The cover of the wings of grasshoppers,
 The traces of the smallest spiders' web ;
 The colour of the moon-shine's watry beam ;
 The whip of cricket-bone, the lash of film,
 The waggoner a small grey-coated gnat, &c.

Or you may command them to steal honey-bags from the humblebees :

And for night-tapers crop their waxen thighs,
 And light them at the fiery glow-worm's eyes.

Oh, imagination ! what a charming play-fellow art thou ! Pity that thy visions should ever disturb our quiet ; pity that thy delusions should ever conduct us into fatal errors.

While I was indulging the above reverie, our driver enquired if we would pay a short visit to *Slangbach*, which was situated about a quarter of a mile within the forest, and we readily accepted the proposition.

Slangbach is also a mineral spring, similar to that we had left. Its situation is very romantic, but calculated to inspire melancholy. A serpentine rivulet, shaded with willows, meanders

meanders by the side of a hill that is covered with the trees of the forest. A few buildings, erected for the reception of guests, constitute the whole neighbourhood. As we approached the principal edifice, the attendants manifested an excellent disposition to be very civil. But this received a considerable check, when they were acquainted that it was not our intention to step out of the carriage. The gloom of this retirement, and the sight of a few invalids that were creeping about, with dejection in their countenances, would have made us change our purpose, had it been to seek for health from the salubrious stream.

This place is entirely consecrated to Hygiea. It has neither balls nor assemblies; and it is chiefly frequented by those who are obliged to study economy, or who are not fond of the bustle of a more crowded place.

We returned by another path to the public road, passed through a stadchen, and several villages, whose physiognomy, to adopt the language of *Lavater*, was far from being handsome: but the physiognomy of the inhabitants indicated contentment.

This narrow defile began gradually to enlarge in each direction, and at length opened into a spacious amphitheatre, skirted with towns and

villages, and terminated on the southern horizon with distant and lofty mountains. The stately mansion of the Prince of Beverick formed an object of perspective, towards our left hand; and at the distance of four or five miles towards the right, our much-beloved Rhine, ornamented with a tufted island, and presenting us with the venerable city of *Mentz*, on its southern borders, seemed to have employed a temporary absence, to render itself more beautiful to our sight.

While we were enjoying the prospect, a gentleman, in an elegant chaise, drawn by a pair of handsome horses, was crossing the fields, at a small distance before us. As the road was very dusty, we desired our driver to mend his pace, that we might not be incommoded with the carriage that was making towards us. At first he did not seem to attend to us, but, upon repeating the order, he took off his hat, and told us, "Why, Gentlemen, it is the *Prince of Beverick!*" This was not a satisfactory reason to my companion, who asserted, that princes and commoners were upon a level; and as princes had raised but too much dust in the world, to the nuisance of every body; that we ought also to have our turn, and he bid the fellow drive on, in a more peremptory tone.

tone. The man looked amazement, and continued obstinate; nor would he assist us to maintain our equality with the Prince of *Beverick*, by getting before him.

LETTER XXXVII.

Mentz.

WE passed by the country-seat of this Prince of Beverick, in our way to Mentz, from which it is distant about three miles. It has a magnificent appearance externally; and, together with all the appendages of its greatness, it enlivens and beautifies the small surrounding hamlet. We were told that the apartments and decorations within correspond with this appearance. We were also informed, that the proprietor is much esteemed for the simple elegance of his manners, and benevolence of his character.

As we approached the bridge, our passage was intercepted by two toll-gates; the one to collect the claims of the road, and the other those of the bridge. This circumstance affords me a fair opportunity, if I chose to embrace it, of expressing my indignation against the frequency and exorbitancy of these taxes, and also the haughty manner of collecting them. Res-

pecting





The City of Montreal.

Published by J. Edmund Langdon, May 1, 1903

pecting the two first articles, as I took no minutes, I will not aim at accuracy, but I recollect an observation we had frequent occasion to make, in our journey from Bonn to this place, that the expences of toll-gates encreased nearly in proportion, as the hire of horses diminished in price. This imposition is the more inexcusable, as the roads, where they are good, are easily kept in repair, by the materials that fall from the mountains; and where such an advantage is not enjoyed, they are scarcely repaired at all. The truth is, the sums collected are not employed in any adequate proportion to the ostensible purposes, but furnish a considerable revenue to the lordly masters of the different districts. The manner of collecting these tolls is also very humiliating to the passenger. Their lazinesses, the toll-gatherers, instead of darting forth upon you, from an adjacent tenement, to open the gate, and receive your money, sit, with an indifferent composure, at the window of their own habitation, and draw up the bar by means of a string and a pulley, that communicates with the inner apartment; and the coachman is obliged to descend and deposit the compulsive offering in a box, suspended by the side of the wall, or at the window. These two gates, adjacent to the

bridge conducting to Mentz, were at some distance from each other; and we were compelled to rely upon the mild and sedate dispositions of our horses for safety, while our charioteer ran from one gate to the other, to satisfy the demands of each collector.

The city of Mentz exhibits itself to great advantage to a spectator, placed on this opposite side of the Rhine. It extends itself along the borders of the river, as if conscious of the beauty and advantage of the situation. The venerable dome near the centre, surrounded with towers and spires of inferior note; the town residence of the Elector appearing in full view on the right hand, or in the northern direction, and his country seat at no great distance from the city on the left, give to the whole something of the regularity of architecture. On the back ground, distant hills form a majestic amphitheatre, affording due space for tillage, while they undertake to furnish wines of the richest flavour.

I shall leave other travellers to celebrate the bridge over which we passed into the city, as it is more beautiful in their eyes than it was in ours, although the extensive prospects on all sides justly render it a favourite evening walk. It is formed by an arrangement of fifty-six
boats,

boats, or lighters, over which loose planks are laid, that all may yield to the rise and fall of the stream. Two or three of these boats can be drawn out at pleasure, by means of ropes and pulleys, to clear a passage for the vessels that ascend or descend the river. Minute observers tell us, that the bridge is seven hundred and sixty-six paces in length; and minute historians, that the plan of the bridge was formed in the year 1661, and executed under the regency of *John Philip of Shöüborn*, as a substitute to the one of wood, originally built in the year 811, by order of Charlemagne; and frequently repaired in succeeding ages, until the original was lost.

Adjacent to the bridge are the mills, destined to grind corn for the public. They are erected upon a platform of wood, properly secured against the force of the current, and made to rise and fall with the water. In seasons of severe frost they are totally removed. Many cities on the Rhine have similar conveniencies.

Mentz itself does not answer to the flattering ideas formed of it at a distance. The streets are narrow and irregular, nor are they well paved. They are illuminated by reverberatory lamps. But by the distance in which these are placed from each other, too great a compliment

is paid to their powers, and the eye is teased by alternate profusion of light, and sudden obscurity. The most considerable openings are very confined; and its squares are triangular, pentangular, semicircular, and almost every shape but quadrangular.

The number of inhabitants is computed to be thirty thousand, including the garrison, which amounts to nearly five thousand. Mentz enjoys a larger share of commerce than most of the cities bordering on the Rhine, but not so much as might have been expected from the advantages of its situation. This is chiefly owing to the exorbitant imposts laid upon every article of commerce. Of the million eight hundred thousand florins of revenue collected in this Electorate, it is affirmed, that the tolls upon the river produce six hundred thousand, and impost upon wines one hundred thousand. Mentz is the principal residence of the nobility, who are very numerous in the Electorate, and are said to possess considerable property. They are also said to diffuse a spirit of urbanity over the inhabitants in general, and to enliven the city by the frequency of winter amusements. The University of Mentz was established by Prince Emeric Joseph. The present Elector, Frederick Charles, of the Erthal family, has
endowed

endowed it with the revenues arising from several Prebendaries, worth about one hundred thousand florins per annum. This Prince is much respected, although from the above statement of his pecuniary affairs, you will suspect that his subjects are made to pay dear for his good qualities.

Since our visit to Mentz, a Philosophical Society has been erected. I could procure the names of its members, but I hope that in due time they will make themselves known. One volume of Essays, upon various subjects, is already published, and which manifests, that if they do not excel, they are able to maintain their level with many other literary associations. We look to Universities and Philosophical Societies for the progress of *profane* knowledge, though, in my humble opinion, they are better calculated to promote true religion, than most of our theological seminaries, as they are generally conducted, where controversial tactics are chiefly taught, and men are drilled into the mere exercise of certain forms. Mentz yields to Coblenz in the number of churches, if we take into consideration the superior number of inhabitants. It has only ten collegiate, and seven parochial churches, five monasteries, and four nunneries, each of which has, consequently,
its

its chapel, which you will acknowledge is moderate, compared with Coblenz, although an equal quantity of good might be produced with one-third of the number.

Family quarrels are generally the most inveterate. The nearer the discordant parties are in the bonds of natural alliance, at the greater distance are they thrown by the violence of hatred and animosity. This may explain the reason why the Holy Catholic Church tolerates the *Jews*, but no one sect of heretical Christians. It is true, from the total extinction of other sects, the town is free from religious controversy; but its tranquillity is stagnation. It has been remarked by some one, I forget whom, that scarcely any subjects is worth the trouble of discussion, excepting those which have met with the greatest obstacles to discussion, religion and politics. These are certainly the most important, as they relate to our welfare in both worlds; and their native dignity is manifested by the extensive influence they have upon the human mind, when the free investigation of them is allowed. No subjects are so well calculated to inspire the community at large with what is usually termed GOOD SENSE. Where the free discussion of these is prohibited, a few speculative men may cultivate the various branches

branches of philosophy, and may acquire classical knowledge; but the ideas of the PEOPLE are contracted, their minds servile and bigotted, and their conversation frivolous; unless, indeed, they find means to cultivate their minds, and perhaps save their souls by stealth. It sometimes happens that the intellectual faculties work rapidly and effectually, though in secret, and that a treasure of solid knowledge lies concealed under an external conformity to public authority and established creeds. But in religious affairs, men become hypocrites; and in politics, the yoke is rendered galling by their *perceiving* that it is a yoke. Extremes beget each other. From credulity they sink into infidelity; and from passive obedience and non-resistance they are liable to burst forth into anarchy, when they feel their powers competent to resistance. The philosophical spirit that is already prevalent in this city, is doubtless preparatory for some momentous change at a future period: for in proportion as knowledge is diffused, the mind becomes restless under that state of servility which sits easy upon the ignorant. If there be any truth in these remarks, genuine policy will consist in the most liberal toleration of free discussion. The love of truth would then become a common cause. One class of sentiments not
being

being under the frown of ecclesiastic or civil authority, and another supported by its smiles, they would each be appreciated according to their sterling value. We should exchange our love of *notions* for the love of truth, and become as impatient of error as we are now of contradiction. Will you object, my friend, that universal scepticism would prevail? I answer, that it ~~must~~ prevail, where improved sense enables men to discover the absurdities of established principles, and the mind is impeded in its ardent desires to find out better. I acknowledge also, that upon their first liberation, a thousand crude conjectures and imperfect notions would be proposed and adopted. But these would soon be rejected for clearer and more consonant ideas, if they were communicated without restraint. In renouncing ancient prejudices, on account of their manifest absurdity, some degree of scepticism is natural, and perhaps unavoidable. To use a medical or surgical phrase, it is a solution of continuity, previously requisite for a new organization. To use a Catholic phrase, it is the purgatory through which the mind must pass to the enjoyment of true wisdom and knowledge. To use a chemical phrase, it is the putrefactive fermentation attending the dissolution of old systems, which will live in the generation of

exhilarating truths. The partial view of things which a fettered mind must take, will naturally lead to infidelity; give full scope, and infidelity will finally terminate in a creed consonant with the nature of God, and productive of the happiness of man.

Since men have always shewn a disposition to persecute, it has often been a subject of surprise with me, that a persecuting spirit has never operated in a contrary direction; and that pride and self-importance have never manifested themselves by prompting the powerful to persecute the weak, who should *dare to think as they do*. Let him who imagines that he is in possession of the truth, make a monopoly of the article, and claim an exclusive privilege of being always in the right. Let him reject that levelling scheme of forcing others to think exactly as he does, and nobly assert the prerogative of thinking alone: for, as the matter now stands, if others think with him, he must of consequence think with them; and the only difference is, *who* entertained the opinion first? which is as frivolous as the contest among children, who shall speak last. A momentous advantage would attend my plan. If no two people were permitted to think alike, the probability would be increased that some happy mortal would think right, whereas, according

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to the plan that has been pursued for centuries, it is ten thousand to one but that we all think wrong.

Our host at the Three Crowns, with whom my friend had some conversation upon the subject of toleration, saw no evil in the prohibition of Protestants to establish themselves at Mentz, and thought the Government sufficiently liberal in permitting strangers to take up a temporary residence at their inns, without being obliged to give in their confession of faith, together with their names, upon their arrival.

The town of Mentz possesses few singularities to attract the attention of the traveller. I shall just enumerate those which are generally reputed as such.

The first and most conspicuous is the Dome, or Cathedral Church. It is a large Gothic pile, venerable for its great antiquity, and also for its majestic appearance, notwithstanding it is surcharged with minuter ornaments. The foundations of it were laid by Archbishop Conrad in the twelfth century. Calculate, my good Sir, how many successive generations it has beheld starting into existence, busied as if they were so many immortals, seeking their supreme good, and then sinking into dust. Like all
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the principal buildings, it is of red stone. This circumstance renders the city both visible and respectable at a great distance. The ancient tower was of wood, and much loftier, but it was consumed by lightning, and a tower of stone was substituted in its place, which, through a distrust of the foundation, is humbler than its predecessor, by about eighty feet. Our guide informed us, that to prevent a similar accident in the future, cisterns of water were placed at a considerable height in the present tower, which could, in a case of necessity, receive a constant supply from the river. This precaution appeared to us the less necessary, now the building was no longer of such combustible materials, and, also as one illustration of that unlucky Greek tense, the *Paulo Post Futurum*, the practical exercise of which does so much mischief in the world.

We saw nothing in the Cathedral that merits description. There were, as usual, several monuments, and also, as usual, some relicts, and some consecrated treasures; but with these I shall not detain you. The most extraordinary sight that attracted our notice, was an assembly of the dignitaries of the church, at their public devotions in the choir. How becoming is devotion in all! but how peculiarly pleasing is

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it to contemplate the pious effusions of the mind, where gratitude alone inspires them; for the present possessions and future hopes of these worshippers must almost render supplication superfluous! Patience, resignation, and prayer, are for the Poor and the Wretched!—As I dropped a hint of this kind, in the hearing of our guide, he answered, with a sarcastic smile, “Sir, their stipends depend upon a punctual attendance on public devotion, or you would not find them there, I can assure you.”

The venerable pile has a striking contrast in the Chapter-house belonging to it. This is a modern building, erected at the joint expence of the present Dean, Count Vander Leyen, and the other Chapters. Order, elegance, and splendour have been studied in every department. The façade of this mansion is ornamented with six Corinthian pillars supporting a gallery. The wings consist of two buildings of inferior workmanship, but dignified with a number of arcades. The vestibule is large, and well proportioned; the flight of stairs is light and elegant; the grand saloon is adorned with thirty-six pillars, that support a ceiling and a dome, highly wrought. Between each pillar is either a genius supporting a splendid chandelier,

delier, or a settee of costly mahogany, highly gilt, and softened with embroidered cushions. The dining-room exhibits a ceiling painted by *Zick*, which represents the felicity of the gods in the seven planets; and the walls are covered with four masterly paintings in pannels, representing Jupiter punishing Juno, the fall of Phaeton, the victory over the Titans, and the general deluge. The cabinets, bed-chambers, and inferior apartments are *wainscoted* with mirrors, in the French stile.

Notwithstanding all these beauties, this palace and its decorations are justly subject to severe criticism. The situation of the building is so miserably confined, that there is no point of view in which the architecture can produce its full effect, and the expence be vindicated to the eye. Its size does not correspond to the grandeur of the plan. Majesty in miniature is a contradiction. To attempt it indicates both pride and weakness; it is the Goldfinch or Canary bird emulating the soaring flight of an Eagle.—The ornaments are much too gaudy. The profusion of gilding dazzles the eye, excites the childish stare of the simple, and disgusts those who are not so. In all the apartments of the central building, light is admitted from domes, or sky-lights, in the form of

VOL. II. I cupolas;

cupolas; and however this mode may favour an uniformity, and a completion in the ornamental parts, such advantages do not compensate for the general gloom they occasion; and by betraying the want of elevation, and of a number of chambers correspondent with the apparent size of the mansion, its poverty is discovered in the midst of an imposing grandeur. The bed-chambers being thus surrounded with mirrors, ludicrous ideas are excited which were never intended. We may argue, if this profusion of reflecting-glasses were placed there for no purpose, then are they totally useless; and what other purpose can they answer in the bed-chamber of a venerable Celibate, than that he may contemplate a *vis-a-vis de lui même*; in all directions every night he is undressing? It is said that the favourite bed of the Regent Duke of Orleans, had a looking-glass for its tester. But as he never slept alone, the design of this ingenious contrivance might not refer to his own person. Perhaps it was simply that beauty might contemplate majesty, and majesty contemplate beauty, a-sleep. To finish my criticism, you will conclude with me, that such an highly decorated palace is much too gay and mundane for the object of the building, and the dignitaries that frequent it. A venerable simplicity so striking in itself,
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and so peculiarly becoming the ecclesiastic order, is totally wanting. The subjects of the paintings are ill chosen. Heathen deities are not the most suitable decorations of an edifice destined to concert plans for the maintenance of church discipline, and the purity of the Christian faith; nor have Jupiter's quarrel with Juno, the fall of Phaeton, the victory over the Titans, and the universal deluge, much connection with the *Salle à manger*.

Many of the more ancient towns in Germany manifest that their ancestors had a strong predilection for finery and shew, without paying any attention to propriety in the subjects displaying it. All the houses at Cologne and at Mentz, that bear decided marks of their having been formerly of a superior class, are curiously painted externally from top to bottom, with fantastic figures, landscapes, and Scripture histories, which have no relation to any one circumstance relative to the building or its situation. It is obvious, that although the modern inhabitants of Mentz are making strong efforts to emerge from that Gothic taste, yet some of its dregs still adhere to them. Many other of their public buildings are still chargeable with the fault of a gaudy impropriety. I shall only instance in the church formerly dedicated to

Saint Ignatius, and that belonged to the Jesuits, before the abolition of that order, but is now become parochial. This is justly deemed the most splendid church in the city. The building itself is light and elegant; many of its paintings and statues are excellent. Above the grand altar is a solemn and striking representation of the Angels prostrate before the throne of the Almighty, covering their faces with their wings, and crying out, Holy, holy, holy Lord God Almighty.—The paintings of an elegant dome are arranged in several compartments. In the one is represented the shipwreck of Saint Paul, in another some occurrences in the life of Ignatius, in a third Daniel among the lions. In most of these is some manifest impropriety, and in all a glare and showiness that injures the majesty of their subject. The mitre and crozier, for example, can have no concern in the shipwreck of St. Paul, and ought to have no place in the lion's den, and yet they are there. You might mistake the den for the inside of a palace, if Daniel, the lions, and the door of a prison, did not correct the mistake. The chastity of a beautiful sculpture, representing our Saviour's descent from the Cross is violated by a mixture of meretricious ornaments: the principal figures are of white marble, and executed
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with taste ; but the cross, the ladder, and the fish round our Saviour's loins, shine with burnished gold ; and all the attendants indicate an union of exquisite workmanship, with a toy of gilt gingerbread.

LETTER XXXVIII.

Mentz.

I OBSERVED in my last letter, that the town-residence of the Elector, situated in the northern quarter of the city, was one of the objects that gave a flattering appearance to Mentz, when viewed at a distance. It is also one of the objects recommended to the notice of a stranger. This schloß, or castle, is an Episcopal palace of great antiquity; and having been formerly dedicated to St. Martin, has acquired the name of *Martinburg*. The palace has nothing externally to recommend it, excepting its amazing size, which, in spite of every defect, will always strike as an attribute of the grand. Several additions that have been made to the original building, at different periods, give it also a very irregular and motley appearance: but *fronti nulla fides*. The unpromising externals render the visitor more surprised at the magnificence within. This ancient Gothic

pale contains a great number of large, well-proportioned, and elegant apartments. It contains a double suite of rooms on each story, not less, if I mistake not, than sixteen or eighteen in number. These are all furnished in a suitable manner, and some of them in a grand style, particularly the concert and the assembly room, which is elegantly gilt, and highly decorated. Although the proprietor is not a professed collector of paintings, yet no inconsiderable number of these choicest ornaments embellish all the principal apartments. Those which pleased us the most, were several picturesque views of the Rhine, executed with accuracy and taste. The name of the painter has escaped my memory: some heads, in various positions, by Mettenleiter; many Flemish pieces, by different masters; and some pieces by *Hock*, who is patronised by the Elector. This painter forms himself upon the style of the Dutch and Flemish schools, and attempts to imitate the manner of Teniers and Douw, but at present he is greatly deficient in delicacy of pencil. There are also a few pieces by Wayning, who excelled in poultry. Although they are not unworthy of this great master, yet none of them appeared to me equal to a performance of his in the possession of

Mr. Geber, whom I mentioned in a former letter; it is a dead peacock suspended by the legs. The vivid *oeillets* of the tail, and glowing variegated colours of the neck, surpass every imitation of the kind I had ever beheld. The Elector's library consists of two large rooms, which are plentifully furnished with books in the various branches of science; and some of these make a splendid appearance by the elegance of their bindings. The very transient view we took, has not enabled me to be more particular.

Without its appearing to be the prime object to please occasional visitors, the effect was much more powerfully produced upon us at Martinsburg, than at the Chapter-house. The human mind is so capricious and unruly, that it will not be *compelled to admire*. In every case where it is the intention to excite an extraordinary emotion, if the design be not in some measure concealed, the effect will not be produced.

The arrangement, furniture, and decorations of these apartments being correspondent with the rank and fortune of their principal, appear to themselves grand, without its being the laboured design of the proprietor to give them this character in the eye of every spectator; whereas the palace of the Dean and Chapter
manifestly

manifestly courts admiration every step you take. The prospects also from those rooms, which command the Rhine, are enchanting, and exhilarate the spirits infinitely more than the most finished elegance of art, confined in a show-box.

At no great distance from the Electoral Palace, is the favourite walk of the inhabitants of the city; and, were I an inhabitant, I should also think that it merited the preference to every other. It extends along the Rhine, upwards of a mile and half in the northern direction, and then projects westwards, to a very considerable extent. It is a terrace planted with shady trees, and in some places diversified with lesser walks, amidst clusters of trees. On the left hand are the gardens of the richer inhabitants, and amongst these are occasionally public places of resort for repose and refreshment. On the right hand flows the Rhine, enlivened with the vessels of merchandize, ornamented with a tufted island, and surrounded with fertile hills, on which villages and hamlets are occasionally planted.

Ma Favorite is the Elector's country seat, at some little distance from the city, towards the south. By the name, it is natural to suppose that the Elector François de Shönborn, who
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gave it that name, preferred it to *Mon Repos*, an Electoral country seat in the neighbourhood of Treves. But exclusive of situation, it does not deserve this title of predilection. The garden is large, but without any plan that indicates taste; and though it receives some embellishment from a number of statues and vases, yet they neither of them excel in design or execution. Not less than eight detached buildings constitute the Electoral seat. There is a pavilion destined to cards and concerts. This is pleasantly situated in the midst of a grove. The principal residence is accompanied by three pavilions on each side, the one placed several paces before the other, and all conspiring to rob the central mansion of a lovely prospect, which constitutes the distinguishing excellency of the spot. By this awkward arrangement, every idea of unity is destroyed. These separate buildings seem so perfectly adapted to the accommodation of different companies, that an Englishman would be excusable in mistaking the place for some public garden, instead of the private retreat of an Electoral Archbishop. The most pleasing spot is the terrace, adjacent to the river, from the banks of which it is separated by light palisades, elegant enough to excuse them from being tipped with gold, a-la-mode
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de Mayence. This terrace commands a prospect that has not many equals in the *beauteous* stile. I speak not of wild grandeur. Nearly opposite to the terrace, towards the south-east, the eye beholds the *Main*, pouring its friendly mass of waters into the Rhine; is delighted with being able to penetrate to a considerable distance through the divisions made in lofty mountains, mantled with vines, to form a passage for each majestic current; and with contemplating numerous vessels of merchandize, that excite the welcome ideas of luxurious abundance as they glide along the surface of each stream. The mountains, villages, and towns of *Hockheim*, *Costheim*, *Cassel*, and *Wiesbaden*, and a part of the *Rhingan*, districts renowned for the culture of the most costly grapes, form an extensive semicircle, in which grandeur, elegance, plenty, and rural tranquillity combine to form a whole: While in the direction of *Franckfort*, mountains clothed with extensive forests, terminate the horizon, by mixing with the clouds.

Most strangers pay a visit to the curiosities of Baron *Dunnewald*, and they are courteously received. This gentleman is one of those retired and sedentary persons that know how to employ and amuse an active mind, within the walls

walls of their own habitation, without seeking those foreign aids, so necessary to most men of leisure. He is busy in collecting a cabinet of natural history, which is already enriched with many curious specimens of the mineral kingdom. He has contrived a harpsichord upon a new construction, which imitates different kinds of instruments. It has already cost him four thousand Rix-dollars, (about a thousand pounds, and he is still attempting to render it more perfect. This gentleman has also planned his garden somewhat in the stile of that formed by the late Mr. Tyers, at his country residence in Surrey. It is divided into the *Allegro* and the *Penseroso*. Statues, busts, inscriptions, of the gay and facetious nature, adorn the one; the cottage of an humble peasant, the representation of an hermitage, and a dark and solitary cave constitute the other. In this cave the proprietor has endeavoured to carry the horrible to the utmost extent. Mr. Tyers was satisfied with giving lessons of wisdom by inscriptions placed under a male and female skull; the Baron has carried the idea farther. Upon entering the cave, the stranger almost unavoidably treads upon a spring, and a decayed coffin immediately arises out of the ground, exhibiting a skeleton within, which points at the

the future abode of the living. On the walls of this cavern are also inscribed warnings and lessons of mortality, suitable to the nature of the place.

Perhaps you will think that this mode of instruction is extending the humiliating ideas of our future lot too far. It might with truth be urged in its justification, that our prevailing carelessness and inattention to a period no one can escape, will vindicate the most violent methods that are taken to arouse the inattentive. But, as hath been observed upon a former occasion, this species of mechanic eloquence ought not to be too frequently employed; for although it may strike at first, it renders the mind more insensible than before, if repeated too often. Terror is of no use, but as it disposes to serious thoughts and reflections. It is *these* which are to produce the salutary and lasting effects; and those forcibly inculcated by suitable emblems, imagery, and a figurative energy of language, are more likely to have permanent influence than the view of terrific objects. In proportion as a people advance in refinement of taste and manners, the less influence of a moral nature is to be expected from these violent methods of instruction. If they rouse for a moment the more ignorant and uncultivated

cultivated mind, they shock and disgust persons of real delicacy, who reject the most salutary potion, conveyed by so nauseous a medium. I am fully persuaded that many pious Christians of the present day would be as displeased and as restless to hear a preacher frequently repeat the words h—ll and d—n, as the reprobate, most conscious that they are applicable to his own character: and those who would enjoy a pensive walk among the tombs, and be benefited by the serious thoughts they might suggest, would be more disgusted than edified at the sight of a skeleton, or by visiting a charnel-house.

I must acknowledge, however, that few of us in these more northern parts of the continent, are arrived to this degree of delicacy! We still seek moral improvement by scenes of horror. Not contented with a *memento mori*, as it is carved upon a grave-stone, we seek a nearer alliance with it. A Dutch Lady of my acquaintance, constantly wears a death's head and cross-bones, carved in ivory, and set in a gold ring, in remembrance of a once beautiful young Lady, for whom she had the highest esteem. I should have preferred a former resemblance of this fair one, and should have
thought

thought it fully as instructive; but *chacun a son goût*.

In the above instance, the emblem, or rather the representation of Death, is in a quiet and inactive state, as, indeed, I think it ought; but I could mention to you several instances in which Death himself, at full length, makes such a bustle, that he is by far the most lively personage in company. This idea is particularly realized in the celebrated *Orange-salle*, which constitutes the grand apartment of the country-seat belonging to the Prince of Orange, in the wood adjacent to the Hague. This *salle*, which is much admired amongst us, is enriched and embrowned in every part with a profusion of paintings, like a twelfth-cake among you, with a profusion of sweetmeats. But in no less than *three* of the compartments Death is represented by skeletons darting their arrows against an host of opponents. If you can allow the bare bones of shoulder, arm, and hand to possess the greatest muscular force, without having a single muscle, and that foot, leg, and thigh can be as firm and as active *without* that infinite number of delicate muscles, or large mass of the more energetic, as *with* them, Death must certainly have every advantage. For, in the first place,

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He is so extremely meagre, that a shower of arrows from every quarter might chance to miss him, or to pass through the lattice-work of his ribs, without touching any of the vital parts: They can neither cripple him by wounding a ligament, make him bleed to death by touching an artery, nor empoison the nervous system by the most envenomed shafts: and, secondly, it is impossible to kill death, without bringing him to life! In short, so numerous and so powerful are his agents and allies, that in every contest of this nature, the painter ought to bring these forward to fight his battles, and keep so inebecile an emblem of the invincible tyrant out of sight. The moral would be the same, and the absurdity avoided, which, in my opinion, is as great as the pretensions of some magnetisers, whose patients are said to read distinctly through the cover of a book, in open defiance of all the laws of vision.

I hope that you will not exult too much if I tell you the infinite obligations which the inhabitants of Mentz confess themselves to be under to a countryman of ours. It is asserted that *St. Boniface* converted Germany to the Christian faith, and united it to the See of Rome; that

he taught them the art of writing, and weaned them from the love of horse-flesh. His chief residence was at Mentz, and he is said to have founded the Archiepiscopate, about the eighth century.

My German author, whom we occasionally consulted in our visit to these more southern parts of our tour, as our *vade-mecum*, and *matter of fact man*, praises, indiscriminately, every plan, and every exertion of this ambitious and bigoted Priest. His extending the Papal Jurisdiction from north to south, and thus adding splendour to the triple crown; his introducing Synods in Germany, to reform and maintain ecclesiastical discipline; his increasing the influence of Bishops, in civil concerns, and his implicit obedience to the See of Rome, are mentioned with an admiration, equal to that expressed at his having established seminaries of learning, and reformed the morals of the people. Boniface resided at Mentz, was its first Archbishop, and so happily blended civil with archiepiscopal authority, that none of his successors have manifested the least inclination to separate them.

But if Boniface taught the Germans to read, and was so peculiarly attentive to the instruction and improvement of the inhabitants of Mentz,

this city, in return, claims to itself the honour of diffusing knowledge over the Christian world, by the inestimable invention of the art of printing. In consequence of this claim, great pains have been taken to perpetuate the fact. Upon the house, in which *Gutenberg*, supposed by many to have been the inventor, formerly resided, we find the following inscription :

JOANNI GUTTENBERGENSI,
Moguntino
Qui primus omnium
Literas ære imprimendas invenit,
Hac arte de orbe toto bene merenti
YVO WITTIGISIS
Hoc saxum pro monumento posuit,
M,D,VIII.

In the church of the Franciscans, the following is also inscribed upon a tomb-stone :

D O M. S.
JOANNI GENTFLEISCH,
Artis Impressoriæ Repertori,
De omni Natione et Lingua optime merito,
In nominis sui memoriam immortalem
Adam Gelthus posuit.

In

In the library of the Benedictines are exhibited some specimens of the earliest printing; wherein the art is ascribed to *Jean Faustus*. The library of the Jesuits also possesses a breviary, which contains the following passage: *Impressum Moguntiae, impensis & operâ honesti & providi viri Joannis Schoefferi, civis moguntini, cujus avus primus artis impressoriae fuit inventor, & autor, anno salutiferae incarnationis domini millesimo quingentesimo nono.* The invention is further ascribed to the grandfather of John Schoeffer, in a licence granted to the latter by the Emperor Maximilian, in the year 1518, to publish an edition of *Livy's* works; which runs thus: *Cum, sicut docti & moniti sumus fide dignorum testimonio, ingeniosum Chalcographiae auctori, avo tuo, inventum felicibus incrementis in universum orbem promanaverit, &c.*

This difference of names, and confusion of persons, to whom the art is ascribed, are not easy to be explained; and although these public testimonies indicate that the people of Mentz unite in the eager desire of securing the honour to their city; yet, it is manifest, that they cannot ascertain, with precision, who it was that conferred this honour upon them. Hence a suspicion will naturally arise, that they are not

sufficiently clear in the evidences, on which they found their pretensions.

I need not inform you, that no less than three cities lay claim to this honour, *Strazburg*, *Mentz*, and *Haerlem*, in the province of Holland; but that the contest is principally between *Mentz* and *Haerlem*. Since I have paid this visit to *Mentz*, I have been extremely desirous to gain all the information I was able, concerning so very interesting a subject, and my occasional residence in the neighbourhood of *Haerlem* has afforded me some opportunities, although they were not to the extent I could wish. If your curiosity be equal to my own, it will not be disagreeable to you to communicate, in a subsequent letter or two, the result of my enquiries. This may be the more acceptable, as what has been published on *this* side of the water, is locked up from you, by your being unacquainted with either the Dutch or the German languages; and, I believe, that all which has been written upon the subject on your side of the water, is entombed in large folio volumes, or in publications chiefly confined to the libraries of a few literary men. Leaving the subject, therefore, to a future discussion, I shall conclude the present letter with a concise account of a trip we took to *Wissbaden*.

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As we had finished our enquiries and perambulations the two first days after our arrival at Mentz, my companion and I agreed to hire a chaise, take a dinner at this place, and return in the evening. Wisbaden is a small city, upon an equality with most of your market-towns; distant from Mentz about nine or ten miles. It is a place much frequented, on account of its hot-wells, which are in high repute in this part of Germany. The different baths, of which there is a considerable number, are supplied from one common reservoir, in the middle of a street, where the water is in a state of perpetual ebullition. It is so extremely hot, that such invalids as hope for additional advantages, from the union of its mineral virtues to heat and moisture, are obliged to let it cool for the space of twenty-four hours, before they can sustain its warmth. Those who have less patience, or, like ourselves, are merely accidental visitors, may have the baths reduced in a very short time, to the due degree of temperature, by the free admission of cold water; as every bath is furnished with pipes, &c.

The philosophic world found it difficult, in former times, to explain the phenomenon of naturally warm baths. Some have conjectured that the waters were heated by means of subter-

aneous fires. But it is morally impossible that a number of volcanic fires should exist in a concealed state, equal to the infinite number of hot springs that are diffused over different parts of the globe. The duration of these warm currents, in the same degree of heat, strongly militates also against the hypothesis. Modern chemists suppose, with much greater probability, that *Thermæ* are produced by the same cause, which, in other circumstances, enkindles subterraneous fires. It has been remarked, that they abound only where there is an immense and an inexhaustible quantity of pyrites. Pyrites, you know, is that stony substance which contains an union of sulphur and iron. Sulphur is supposed to be a simple primitive substance, by the disciples of *Lavoisier*; but that it is capable of being combined with *oxygene*, or pure air, into vitriolic acid. The partizans of *phlogiston* alledge, that sulphur is a compound of vitriolic acid and phlogiston, and that by the separation of the latter, the former exists and remains in a fluid state. Both parties, however, equally admit the fact, that the application of water to pyrites generates heat. It has been discovered that an artificial mixture of sulphur and iron, in about equal quantities, with a small quantity of water, being exposed to open air, will burst

into

into a flame, and, when buried under the surface of the earth, in a sufficient quantity, and at a sufficient depth, will occasion an earthquake in miniature. Whenever there is a superabundance of water, or exposure to air is impeded, ignition does not take place, but the fluid becomes extremely hot: consequently, nothing more is requisite to form these warm springs, than that a large quantity of water should perpetually distil through beds or strata of pyrites; and we have ocular demonstration that both these substances do exist in all places where hot currents abound*. The waters at Wisbaden are strongly impregnated with sulphur: as this substance is rendered soluble in water, by its being blended with a small portion of any of the alkalies, which gives that disagreeable foetid smell.

It is a singularity at Wisbaden, very inconvenient for strangers, that none of the bathing-houses accommodate the human species, although they give stabling to their horses, and shelter to their carriages. In consequence of this custom, we were obliged to seek our dinners at a public ordinary, which, although it was

* See this subject illustrated in Watson's Chemical Essays, Vol. I. Essay V. and in Bomare's Dictionary of Natural History, word Pyrites.

recommended to us as the most respectable in the town, had but a mean appearance; nor was there the abundance of costly viands which were displayed at every other place we had visited. Some of the company, however, were genteel; and we were so fortunate as to sit near to a German Baron, who manifested at once his superiority and his generosity, by filling our glasses with super-excellent *Old Hock*, which he religiously brings with him from his own cellar, every time he frequents the ordinary. We also met with a Dutch Gentleman from Amsterdam, who was under a course of bathing for cramps, and other spasmodic affections, and he thought with good effect. Being countrymen, we soon became acquainted. He answered, with much civility, every question relative to the place; conducted us to his own apartments, and walked with us in the gardens, which the Prince of Beverick, who has considerable property at Wisbaden, had planned, and made public for the accommodation of the patients. It appears from the representation of this gentleman, that invalids, who study economy, would do well to prefer these baths to many others. You may engage at the bathing-houses of the first class for three guilders, about five shillings per week; and at the second class for

two

two guilders; dine at the public table for little more than two guilders per week; apartments are proportionably cheap. You may be decently accommodated for two, three, four, five guilders per week, according to the stile you affect. If I mistake not, public gaming is not permitted; but there is an assembly twice a week.

It is possible that Wisbaden might have improved upon us, had time allowed us to form an intimacy; but, I must confess, that these first impressions were not in its favour. We were conjointly of opinion, that real illness alone could induce any one to pass his summer in this place. The irregularity of the streets, apparent poverty of the inhabitants, and meanness of their dwellings; the confined situation, (the town being surrounded with gloomy mountains in almost every direction) and the plainness of all the accommodations we could notice, being, at least, to say the best of them, midway between simplicity and vulgarity, prevented any predilection for this place of public resort.

Many years ago, I was at Buxton Wells, which is also a dreary situation; and I recollect that I met with a copy of verses, left by some discontented valetudinarian, which, if they did not do justice to the place, seem to have done
justice

justice to the Author's *feelings* and sentiments concerning it. As these will best express, *mutatis mutandis*, my ideas and sensations concerning Wiesbaden, I shall transcribe them.

I.

I pity such whom lost repose,
And dire disease torment ;
But, most of all, I pity those
Who to this place are sent.

II.

How great their pains—their patience great,
What ills they must endure !
Who to these dreary wilds retreat,
And hope from hence a cure !

III.

These gloomy wilds, and barren hills,
All rural joys refuse ;
To bathe, drink, saunter, take your pills,
Are all that can amuse.

IV.

The waters' virtues will you vaunt ?
Can they all pains release ?
True, they may ease the ailing Aunt,
But how they pain her Niece !

V.

What, if they drive one evil out,
They let another in ;
Suppose they cure the flying gout,
They're sure to give the spleen.

With

VI.

With joyful heart I bid adieu,
And hobble to my chaise;
Buxton, if nought can cure but you
I'm cripp'l'd all my days.

LETTER XXXIX.

Mentz.

The INVENTION of PRINTING.

ALL the other peculiarities in the city of Mentz, which demand the attention of a stranger, are much inferior in value to the honour the people claim of having invented the *important art of Printing*. Could they support the claim with incontrovertible proofs, this place would merit the highest tokens of respect that were ever shewn by enthusiasm to local merit. But several other places, particularly the city of Strazburg in Alsace, and of Haerlem in the province of Holland, dispute its exclusive title to the honour ; and they enforce their respective claims by many potent arguments.

There is a natural propensity in the human mind to investigate subjects of this nature. We are wisely formed with a disposition to oppose vigour to difficulties. We are eager to illuminate, if possible, whatever is veiled in obscurity. The discovery of truth is always rendered grateful to us, tho' the *importance* of the truth may not immediately appear. How frequently has the press itself laboured

laboured to clear up obscurities which attended inscriptions upon ancient monuments ;—to detect errors comparatively trifling in ancient manuscripts ;—to investigate the causes of obsolete customs ;—to ascertain the birth - place of distinguished characters ! But methinks no subject of mere curiosity can be more attractive than the investigation of the birth-place of an art, which is the best guardian of every other ;—which is of such infinite importance to the diffusion of every species of useful knowledge,—and which promises the universal improvement of the human race !

This subject has been much more frequently and copiously treated upon the Continent, than in Britain. As you lay not any claim to the discovery, you are not animated by the zeal of a party interested to support a cause ; and instead of taking the lead in this contest, you leave others to debate, and patiently wait the issue. I do not recollect any treatise circulated amongst you, professedly upon this subject. I know that some essays in the 23d and 25th vols. of the *Philosophical Transactions*, and that Sir James Burrows, in the 4th volume of his Reports, vindicated the cause of *Haerlem*, and of *Laurence Coster* ; but I think that the prevalent opinion is in favour of *Mentz*, and *John Faustus* ; and if I mistake not,

Doctor

Doctor *Middleton* was the grand champion of this party, and he has influenced the general opinion among you.

The Dutch and Germans being more immediately interested in the issue of this debate, have inundated the subject, by a torrent of publications. *Christian Feiz* in his *Treatise on the origin of this Invention*, enumerates upwards of *forty*; and *Meerman* in his *Origines Typographiæ*, upwards of *sixty* authors, who have written upon the subject in the space of a century. But alas! there is such a contrariety of opinion, and oppositions of evidence amongst them, that instead of throwing light upon an obscure question, many of them have involved it in still greater obscurity. All of them have written at a period too distant from the discovery to be able to give us information in consequence of their own personal knowledge. The question was not agitated until about a century after the invention. The enquirers were chiefly furnished with traditionary evidence; and this, in many instances, has been so contradictory, that it has enlarged the labyrinth, instead of furnishing a clue! More of these authors have also been actuated by a spirit of party, which in some cases renders their authorities suspicious, and in others their arguments fallacious. Again,
some

Some of the most recent ones merely report the arguments used by their predecessors, according to the party they have adopted. But as matter of fact can not be ascertained by a mere majority of voices, their numbers add but little weight to the cause they have respectively espoused.

It may seem surprising that doubts could ever have been entertained concerning so extraordinary an event, as the introduction of Printing ! It may be asked, why did not the press itself enstamp some indubitable testimonies concerning time, place, and person, immediately after it was brought into existence ; and that whilst it perpetuates myriads of events of inferior importance, it should have been forgetful of what so intimately concerns itself ? Why did not printers and publishers make it their first care to transmit the desirable information to posterity ; were it merely by prefixing titles, names, and dates, to their publications, as is the universal custom at present ?

I might observe, that many customs which appear perfectly simple and natural, when in general practice, were introduced by degrees, and made their way through various stages of progressive improvement. The first instance of specifying either the author or the date, does
not

not occur until the year 1425, and from a specimen which I shall produce in a subsequent letter, you will clearly perceive that the method was extremely formal and uncouth. But the principal reason of this neglect is, that for some years after the invention, Printing was used as much for a *counterfeit*, as a *substitute* for manuscripts. The works that first issued from the press, were sold as manuscripts, and at the enormous price usually given for manuscripts. The particular mode of writing of the more celebrated Scribes, was imitated as closely as possible, in the formation of the types. Spaces were left for capital letters, which in early days were so highly ornamented and so splendidly illuminated, that there was not a letter in the alphabet, that did not in its turn, find itself surrounded by a group of flesh coloured cherubs, or that was not ushered into the world by an angel, sounding a golden trumpet over its head ! These ornaments were still executed by the hands. The numerous abbreviations also, which a desire of expedition, and the tediousness of transcribing had introduced, were scrupulously retained. In a word, every caution was used not to betray the mystery of Printing : and this sufficiently explains the reason of their avoiding a practice by which

the mystery would have been immediately discovered. Nor does it appear that any pains were taken to improve the art to such a degree that it should exceed manuscripts, as long as concealment was their object.

Another circumstance of a very peculiar nature has been the occasion of much embarrassment. Some of the most eager champions for both place and person, have written for the space of half a century, without properly understanding the subject they were writing about. Who could have imagined that volumes should have been written concerning this invention, without any specific argument in what the invention consisted? Every man not interested in the controversy, and that can rest satisfied with the effects produced without enquiring into the different modes, will entertain a clear idea of what is meant by the invention of Printing. He will consider those books as printed which are made by virtue of an *impression* and not by the pen.—He will define the invention to be the discovery of an instrument by which copies of books may be multiplied ad libitum with expedition, and without the necessity of repeatedly transcribing; by which not simply letters and words, but sentences and pages may be taken off at a single stroke in legible

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characters, instead of each letter being separately traced with the pen; and he will be totally indifferent whether the end be accomplished by fixed or moveable types; whether these types were cut in wood or tin or brass, or whether they were cast in a mould and made of a compound metal. His object will not be the *mode* but the *effect*. The history of Printing informs us, that the art passed through these several stages of improvement. It informs us also, that each specific improvement has been crowned with the honour due only to the primary invention.—Thus when evidences have been produced in favour of particular persons, as the authors of the invention, further investigation has demonstrated, that they were merely *secondary* and not *primary* artists; that they *improved*, but did not *invent* the art of Printing.

Some authors have been strenuous advocates for particular places and persons, through a total ignorance of these different improvements. For example, as the question was agitated after Printing had universally acquired the name of *Callography*, and the other more generic terms, such as *Inventio artificiosa imprimendi*, and *characterizandi* became obsolete, it was very natural for the partizans of *Mentz*, where types of
cast

cast metal were first used, to consider the invention of these types as synonymous with the invention of the art itself ; and to suppose that by vindicating the prior claims of Mentz to *Calcography*, they had effectually excluded every competitor. But others seem to have been actuated by the spirit of party. Thus Nicolas Siranius, theological professor at Mentz, allows it to be probable that a Dutchman first cut letters in wood, about the year 1440 ; but he considers this as having no relation to the discovery of Printing ; and *Fourniere* maintains that *cast types* alone are entitled to this honour. It was not until a knowledge of the Printing art became general, and its extreme utility was universally experienced, that any enquiry was made into the origin of the invention. But these enquirers had to grope their way through a kind of *seculum obscurum*. Before this happy invention, it was peculiarly difficult to obtain an accurate knowledge of any particular fact of a mere private or domestic nature. To be able to read and write, were the envied accomplishments of a few. The mass of the people were totally ignorant of these arts, and were obliged to depend entirely upon oral testimony and oral traditions. It is acknowledged that they enjoyed one considerable advantage from this defect ; they were

necessitated to exercise their memories more than we who can immediately commit every thing to paper, and this habitual exercise rendered their memories in general much more tenacious than ours. I met with many striking instances of this fact, whilst I resided amongst the illiterate peasants in the province of Utrecht. The evidence of such persons therefore, although it may not be equally valid with *littera scripta*, yet it is entitled to more credit than modern *hear-say* : But the misfortune is, that the most retentive memory, united with the strictest fidelity, will not at all times extricate us from embarrassments. Notwithstanding the precautions used, the art could not be entirely concealed, or confined to one place : In the course of a few years from the first discovery of Printing, presses were established in different parts of Europe, and at a period when inter-communication between different countries was seldom and difficult, each printer and each city could claim the honour of the invention, without any danger of immediate detection. Hence it was that in process of time partizans arose in favour of *Haerlem* and *Laurence Coster*, of *Mentz* and *J. Gutenberg* and others, of *Strazburg* and *Gutenberg*, and *Mentilius*, of *Venice* and *Nicolas Janson*. The discovery of every new improvement,

ment, would also from similar causes, be confounded with the *original* discovery, and the honour of the *whole* be ascribed to the *secondary* artist.

The above summary of facts, will sufficiently manifest to you the extraordinary difficulties that have attended the investigation of this interesting subject, and will explain the causes of that extreme contrariety of opinions, in those whom we may suppose equally solicitous of investigating the truth : so that about two centuries and an half have elapsed in investigations, relative to both place and person.

This contrariety has been so great, that there is only one point, in which the different partizans are uniformly agreed, viz. that the art of Printing could not have been invented earlier than about the year 1422, or later than the year 1442. The united testimonies of several writers who flourished about the middle of the fifteenth century, or beginning of the sixteenth, demonstrate this. Attempts have been made to deceive, by antedating some works, but their contents have always furnished an internal evidence of the imposture. Thus *Enscheddè* the celebrated painter of Haerlem, was in possession of a journal which announces itself to have been published at *Frankfort* in the year 1246, but the subject

of

of which it treats, plainly indicates that it must have been much posterior to the year 1440.

Of the several claimants the contest has principally fallen between Haerlem, *Mentz* and Strazburg. Those who support the claims of Haerlem, are unanimous in ascribing the invention to *Laurence Coster*. The partizans of *Mentz* are divided between *John Faustus*, *John Guttenberg*, *John Geinsfleisch*, and *Pieter Schoeffer*; and of the partizans for *Strazburg* some attribute the honour to *J. Guttenburg* and others to *Mentilius*. The advocates of *Nicolas Johnsen*, or *Janfen* of Venice, have lost their cause in consequence of the discovery of several books that were printed before the year 1461, at which period it is universally acknowledged that the earliest work of *Johnsen* was dated. *J. Christian Seig*, in his third Jubilee of the Invention of Printing, has compressed the arguments and illustrations given by many of those numerous authors, who have written upon the subject, into the space of about 260 octavo pages. Although he is a *Franconian* by birth, he is a very strenuous advocate for *Laurence Coster*. His arrangement is clear and conspicuous, but he mixes with his arguments much indignant triumph over every opponent. The learned and indefatigable *Meerman*, although a native
of

of Holland, is much more civil and impartial. His object has been to give the subject a thorough investigation, to establish every proposition advanced, by quotations from numerous authors, and by the insertion of authentic documents. In consequence of his deeper researches, his work abounds with much more copious information than that of his predecessor; but I cannot think that his arrangement is so judicious as that of Seig. It is owing to this defect, that he is obliged perpetually to anticipate and repeat; that his arguments are frequently intersected and interrupted by innumerable references and quotations, which have a more remote relation to his principal subject; and that the immense quantity of materials he has collected, has rendered his work tedious and confused. His treatise is written in the *Latin language*, and is extended to *two volumes quarto*: It is much better calculated to give information to the learned upon any dubious point, either of evidence or chronology, than to lay before the more cursory reader a general view of the argument.

I mention these particulars, my dear Sir, to convince you that a full investigation of the question is not to be expected in the space of *two or three letters*. My sole object shall be to give

you a general view of the principal arguments, used by the different partizans, to indicate the manner in which various difficulties are removed, apparent contradictions reconciled, and the merits of the different claimants duly appreciated. For testimonies and documents in lesser articles, and for a more minute and circumstantial account than I intend to give you, I must refer you to the two authors mentioned above. If I have excited more curiosity than I have gratified, you see I am so charitable as to point out the sources where you may drink much deeper of the subject.

LETTER

LETTER XL.

Mentz.

THE INVENTION OF PRINTING.

THE first and principal question is, who *invented* the art of printing? or the art by which the works of an author can be multiplied, and copies taken by means of an *impression*, instead of their being repeatedly transcribed. The particular manner how this impression was made, or the imperfection of the first attempts do not immediately enter into consideration. The discovery of more perfect methods belongs to the *improvements*, and not to the first invention. This enquiry is intimately connected with the time and place, when and where the discovery was made.

The second question is, by whom, at what period, and in what place, the most essential improvements were made, by virtue of which printing became, more elegant, more expeditious, and less expensive?

It has already been hinted, that inattention to these necessary distinctions has been the cause
of

of much embarrassment, so that to three different places, and to a larger number of persons, the honour of the first invention, has been equally ascribed.

To pay due attention to the order of my travels, the advocates for Mentz, shall obtain the first hearing in this cause, as it was in consequence of my visit to their city, and of the evidences which presented themselves in their favour, that the subject was first suggested to my mind.

In a preceding letter, I mentioned to you several monumental and other inscriptions which agree in ascribing the honour of the invention to the city of Mentz, although they differ very essentially concerning the author of the invention. These evidences are however of considerable weight, as far as they respect the *place*. It is manifest from the date of the inscription on the stone before the house inhabited by Guttenberg, that Wittigesis made this honourable record, in 1508; which is so proximate to the æra in which it is asserted, that a printing press was established at Mentz, that we may suppose Wittigesis to have been personally acquainted with Guttenberg, and to have received the account from himself. The inscription by *Geltbus* is without date, yet it is supposed to have been

prior to the former, and although it is an authority equally respectable in favour of *Geinsfleische*, yet it unites in attributing the honour to the town of Mentz. Nor can we suppose the assertion inscribed in the breviary, deposited in the library of the Franciscans, or the claims of J. Schoeffer, to the exclusive privilege of printing the edition of Livy, to have been entirely assumed, and without any foundation. To the above proofs in favour of Mentz, may be added, several others of a similar nature. In the sixth book of *the Decretals* printed in the year 1465, and published by *John Fust* and *Peter Schoeffer*, the honour of the invention is ascribed to Mentz; although it is not immediately assumed by themselves. An inscription of the same nature is also prefixed to an edition of the *Catbolicon*, published in the year 1460. Some Latin verses composed by *Peter Schoeffer*, and placed at the end of an edition of Justinian's Institutes, published by Schoeffer in 1468, assert that the art was discovered in the City of Mentz. Speaking of J. Geinsfleisch and John Guttenberg, he says,

“ *Quos genuit ambos urbs Moguntina Johannes,
 “ Librorum insignes prothocaragmaticos.*”

In the preface to another edition of the same work is the following passage:—In nobili urbe
Moguntiae

Moguntia Rheni, impressoriae artis inventrice elimatrice prima, praesens institutionum opus praeclarum Petrus Schoeffer de Gernsheim, suis consignando scutis, omnipotente favente deo, feliciter consummavit." The most material circumstances concerning the invention are collected in the annals of Jo. Trithemius, who asserts that he received them from the mouth of Peter Schoeffer himself. Trithemius published his annals in the year 1514. It is most probable that he received the account about thirty years before. In his history of the year 1450, Trithemius writes "about this time that wonderful and almost incredible art of printing, and characterizing books was thought of and invented at Mentz, and not in Italy as some have falsely written, by John Guttenberg, a Citizen of Mentz; who having expended almost all his substance in the invention of this art, and struggling with great difficulties, both respecting his circumstances, and the impediments which arose, was upon the brink of relinquishing the attempt, but he completed the undertaking through the advice and pecuniary assistance of John Fust, also a Citizen of Mentz. They first printed a vocabulary, called the *Catholicon*, with the characters of Letters carved in wooden tablets in a series and composed

in forms”—do not you think this the proper translation of *imprimis igitur characteribus litterarum in tabulis ligneis, per ordinem scriptis, formisque compositis?* —“ But as these could not serve for any other purpose since the characters were not moveable from the tablets, but carved, they afterwards contrived better methods, and invented a manner of casting of the forms of all the letters in the latin alphabet, which they called *matrices*, from which they again cast brass and iron characters capable of sustaining any pressure, which they first cut with the hand. Truly, this art had great difficulties to surmount, from the first invention, as I was informed about thirty years ago by Peter Opilio—(that is Schoeffer, or Shepherd) a Citizen of Mentz, who was the son-in-law of the first inventor. They had expended not less than four thousand florins before they had completed three fourths of the bible. Peter Schoeffer, who was first the servant, and afterwards the son-in-law of John Fust, discovered an easier method of casting the types, and completed the art as it now remains. These three kept the printing art a secret for some time, until it was divulged by the servants, without whose aid the work could not be carried on. It was first made known at Strasburgh, and gradually spread into other countries. These
three

three inventors of the art, viz. Guttenberg, Fust, and Schoeffer lived at Mentz, in the house Zum Jungen, which is to this day, " called the printing office."

The evidence of Ulricus Zell, who had worked at the printing office at Mentz, and afterwards erected one at Cologne, where he printed with a very elegant type, according to the specimen given by Meerman, is so perfectly similar to the above in the most material circumstances that I shall not give the passage at large, as it stands inserted in the Annals of Cologne, published in the year 1499. I shall only observe, that in the year 1440, according to him was the first discovery made, and that it was brought to perfection in 1450.

The testimonies of several French and Italian authors, concur to prove, that the discovery was made in Germany, but as some do not mention the city, Strasburgh has an equal right with Mentz to avail itself of their evidence. Some are advocates for Strasburg, while others give the palm to Mentz. In justice to the cause of Mentz, I must, however, acquaint you, that the great Erasmus, seems to have decided in its favour. In his preface to an edition of Livy, printed at Mentz in 1519, he observes that if Ptolemy Philadelphus acquired to himself immortal

mortal honour by collecting the Alexandrian Library, how much greater is the merit of those to multiply books in every language; and then he adds, "A principal portion of this honour is due to the discoverers of this almost divine art. The chief of these, and whose memory ought to be celebrated to the most distant ages, is reported to have been John Fauff, the grandfather of him to whom we are indebted for the present Livy, published in two vols. and corrected in innumerable places from the most ancient code. This honour, in part belongs to John Schoeffer, as it were by hereditary right, and partly to the City of Mentz."

You perceive that the principal authorities place the discovery between the years 1440 and 1450. As that great and astonishing undertaking to print the bible, was completed in the year 1450, and as it was printed in a superior manner, some years must be allowed for preparation and execution. It is also well known, that the *Grammaticus Donati*, and the *Alexandri and Hispani Tractatus*, were published with a very imperfect letter about 1441 and 1442.

Thus it appears, my good Sir, an incontrovertible fact, that printing was exercised at Mentz, at an early period, and that it was practised by several

several persons, to one or other of whom this invention has been ascribed. It is also obvious that while the Citizens of Mentz are ambitious of monopolizing the honour, respecting the *place*, they are by no means agreed, through whose medium, and by whose ingenuity, it was that they obtained this honour.

We will now take a view of the arguments in favour of *Straßburg*. The advocates for this City, are not unanimous either respecting the person, or the precise time of the discovery. Their sentiments are divided between *Mentilius*, and J. Guttenberg.

The advocates for J. Mentilius adduce the Title of Nobility, which was conferred upon him, by the Emperor Frederic the third, in which he is mentioned as the first Inventor of typography. This evidence was carefully preserved by his grand-daughter, and communicated to the world by J. Schottus, in an edition of the Ptolemaic Geography, published at Straßburg, 1520. Scott had married the grand-daughter of Mentilius. Richard Bartoline also who published in 1531, attributes the invention to the same person, and he fixes the year to be 1441. Jeremiah Gebwiler, who was born in the year 1473, asserts that the invention was
first

first made by Mentil, and after imitated by Faustus.

Jacob Wimphelingius, whose epitome of the German history was published in 1501, at Strasburg, in a dedication to the magistrates, says, "Your City excels in being the first in which the printing art was discovered, although it was completed at Mentz;" and in another edition of the same epitome published 1505, he is more explicit. "In the year 1440, under the reign of Frederic III. a great and almost divine benefit was conferred upon the whole world by J. Guttenberg of Strasburg, who discovered a new method of writing. He at first invented the art of printing in the City of Strasburg, which he afterwards brought to perfection in the City of Mentz. Jo. Mantel afterwards became rich by printing many volumes in a more correct and elegant manner."

Several other evidences of a similar nature might be brought, but the following fact will render them unnecessary, and seems to give a decided superiority not only to the City of Strasburg over Mentz, but to J. Guttenberg over every other competitor.

The indefatigable Meerman, who deserves the highest praise for the extent of his enquiries,
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and the accuracy he discovers in every part of his treatise, although he has given me infinite trouble, through the confusion both of his plan and execution,—has been able to produce authentic documents of a legal process, as they were registered in the archives of Strasburg. This process took place in the year 1438, and in consequence of it the following interesting particulars have been brought to light. It appears that J. Guttenberg was a native of Strasburg; that he was a distinguished artist, which was peculiarly honourable at an age when every art was revered as a mystery. He had engaged to instruct one *Andrew Drizebnius*—which name, by the way, notwithstanding its pompous Latin termination, is simply High Dutch for *thirteen*—in the art of polishing stones: Sometime after he engaged with one John Riff in the art of making Mirrours, or Looking Glasses, as practiced at Aix la Chapelle, and also in some other arts, into which *Drizebn*, and also *Antony Heilman* wished to be initiated. Certain conditions were proposed and finally accepted. Upon an accidental visit to Guttenberg, who resided in the Suburbs of Strasburg, those two discovered that Guttenberg was busily employed in another mystery, which had been carefully concealed from them. After a few reproaches, he proposed

proposed to instruct them in this also, on certain conditions. Among these it was stipulated that a portion of the sum advanced by the parties to be instructed, should be refunded to their heirs, if any of them should die within the space of five years. Drizehn died within the term. The conditions of the engagement were insisted upon by his heirs; a compliance with which was refused by Guttenberg, who was a man of a litigious disposition, as is manifest from various instances. A process was the result of this altercation. In the course of the evidence given by different workmen, carpenters, servants, &c. it became evident that this mystery could be no other than that of erecting a printing press. Orders were given by Guttenberg to his servant, immediately after the demise of Drizehn, to convey away from his house in the most secret manner possible, certain implements which upon full examination appeared to be a printing press, with a certain quantity of letters cut in wood: It appeared also that these were not carved upon blocks, but cut out separately on detached pieces of wood. This discovery was made the 26th of December 1438. A subsequent declaration made by one John Dunning, before the magistrates, in 1439, that he had received one hundred florins about three years before, for work

done at a press; brings the epoch of the first attempt to about 1436.

From the above documents it is plain that the City of Strasburg has no idle pretensions to a prior discovery. Proceed we now to the claims of Haerlem.

The advocates for Haerlem pretend to support their claim both by indubitable testimony, and by internal evidence. The most regular and consistent history of the invention is given us by the celebrated historian of Holland Hadrianus Junius, (or Adrian Young.) This writer was born at Hoorn in North Holland, in the year 1512: was educated at Haerlem; was rector of the Latin school, and teacher of natural philosophy in that city for several years; and he died in Zealand in 1575. He wrote the history of Holland in elegant Latin, and he was universally deemed a man of great integrity and impartiality. His work was published after his death; in the year 1578. In his account of the City of Haerlem, he gives the following particulars relative to the invention of printing:

“ About one hundred and twenty years ago,
“ one *Laurence Janssen Koster*, inhabited a decent and fashionable house, in the City of
“ Haerlem, situated on the market place, opposite to the Royal Palace.”—This is now the
town

town house.—“ The name of Koster, was as-
“ fumed, and inherited from his ancestors,
“ who had long enjoyed the honourable and
“ lucrative office of Koster, (or Sexton) to the
“ church.” Sexton approaches the nearest in
office to Coster, but is far distinct in dignity
as well as profit. “ This man deserves to be
“ restored to the honour of being the first in-
“ ventor of printing, of which he has been un-
“ justly deprived, by others who have enjoyed
“ the praises due to him alone. As he was
“ walking in the wood contiguous to the city,
“ which was the general custom of the richer
“ citizens and men of leisure in the afternoons,
“ and on holidays, he began to cut out letters,
“ on the bark of the beach tree, with which he
“ enstamped marks upon paper in a contrary
“ direction, in the manner of a seal; until at
“ length he formed a few lines for his own
“ amusement, and for the use of the children of
“ his brother-in-law. This succeeding so well,
“ he attempted greater things, and being a man
“ of genius and reflection, he invented with the
“ aid of his brother-in-law, Thomas Pieterison,
“ a thicker and more adhesive ink, as the common
“ ink was too thin, and made blotted marks.—
“ (This Thomas Pieterison left four children,
“ several of whom were advanced to the re-

gency)—With this ink he was able to print blocks and figures, to which he added letters. I have seen specimens of his printing in this manner, in the beginning he printed on one side only. This was a Dutch book, the author unknown, it was entitled, *Spiegel onser Behoudenisse*. That it was one of the first books printed after the invention of the art, appears from the leaves which are pasted together, that the naked sides might not be offensive to the eye, and none at first were printed in a more perfect manner. He afterwards substituted leaden types to those of beach wood; and to those succeeded letters made of tin, which were less pliable, and of longer duration. These letters have been since melted down into wine cans, which are still to be seen in the same house. The house was afterwards inhabited by the nephew of Laurans Gerard Thomasson; whom I can mention with honour, as a respectable citizen, who died lately at an advanced age. As this new species of traffick attracted numerous customers, thus did the profits arising from it increase his love for the art, and his diligence in the exercise of it. He engaged workmen, which was the source of the mischief. Among those workmen, was one Jan—whether his

surname

“ surname was *Faust* or any other, is of no
“ great importance to me ; as I will not disturb
“ the dead, whose consciences must have smote
“ them sufficiently, while living. This *Jan*
“ who assisted at the printing press under oath,
“ after he had learned the art of setting the
“ letters, casting the types, and other articles
“ belonging to the art, and thought himself
“ sufficiently instructed, having watched the op-
“ portunity, and as he could not find a better,
“ he packed up the types and the other articles
“ on Christmas Eve, while the family was en-
“ gaged in celebrating the festival, and stole
“ away with them. He first fled to Amster-
“ dam, thence to Cologne, until he could esta-
“ blish himself at Mentz, as a secure place
“ where he might open shop, and reap the
“ fruits of his knavery. It is a known fact
“ that within the twelve months, that is in the
“ year 1440, he published the *Alexandri Galli*
“ *doctrinale*, a grammar at that time in high re-
“ pute, with *Petri Hispani tractatibus logicis* ;
“ with the same letters which Laurens had used.
“ These were the first products of his press. These
“ are the principal circumstances that I have
“ collected from creditable persons far advanced
“ in years, which they have transmitted, like a
“ flaming torch from hand to hand ; and I have

“ also met with others, who have confirmed the
“ same I recollect that Nicolas Gael, my
“ school-master in the days of my youth, who
“ was remarkable for an iron memory, and
“ venerable for his grey hairs, used to relate to
“ me, that he had frequently heard Cornelis
“ the book-binder, a decent old man, nearly
“ eighty years of age, who had also assisted at
“ the printing office of Laurens, relate every
“ particular of the event as he had received
“ them from his master himself, and the manner
“ in which the discovery was made—the subse-
“ quent improvements, and advancement to a
“ more perfect state, and particulars of this
“ kind. He used to relate these circumstances
“ with the utmost earnestness and emotion.
“ Nor could he mention the theft without shed-
“ ing tears of indignation at the baseness of the
“ deed. He was so vexed and enraged at his
“ master’s being thus robbed of the honour
“ due to him, that the life of the thief would
“ not have been secure in his presence. He
“ frequently damned the infamous villain to
“ hell, and cursed the nights, and the months
“ that he had slept in the same chamber with
“ such a wretch. All these particulars perfectly
“ accord with the account given by the Burgo-
“ master Quirinus Talefius, who informed me
“ that

“ that he had heard similar things from the
“ mouth of this book-binder himself.

The partizans of Haerlem endeavour to corroborate the above account by several collateral proofs. They trace the existence of Cornelis the book-binder up to his shop and dwelling in the Cross-Street, Haerlem; and prove from the city registers that Qurinus was a Burgomaster about the time specified by Junius. They adduce several other witnesses also to confirm the above account. Time and space will simply permit me to announce these. For instance,

1. Ulricus Zell, an Hanoverian by birth. This man had resided at Mentz, had assisted at a printing press in that city; and afterwards established a press at Cologne in the year 1467. He attributes the invention of metal types to *Mentz*, but the first discovery of printing to the City of Haerlem. He published the Annals of Cologne between the years 1470 and 1500, and speaking of the printing art, and of his having introduced it into that city, he asserts that the art was essentially improved at Mentz, but that printing was introduced into Mentz, by the imitation of a *Donatus*, that had before been printed in Holland.

2. Mariangelus Accursius. He flourished from 1500 to 1560. He had been a publisher
but

but afterwards resided at the Court of Charles V. This Mar: Ac: wrote on a blank leaf of a *Donatus* which had been published in the year 1450. That "Peter Schoeffer had invented "brass types and greatly improved printing; "but that he took the first idea from a *Donatus*, "printed in Holland with letters cut in wood."

3. The testimony of Richard Atkyns, in his origin of printing, published in 1664. He proves that printing was introduced into England from Holland about the year 1469: mentions the plan laid, and artifices used to bribe a workman from the Haerlem press. I need not enlarge upon this article as you may consult Sir J. Burrow's reports, in the place specified, for all the particulars. In this narrative although Haerlem is considered as the *place*, yet the invention, itself is attributed, not to Laurence Coster, but to John *Cuthenberg*.

4. Jan van Zuren, alias Zurenus Junior, born in the year 1517: and Scheepen or Sheriff of Haerlem in the year 1549, wrote dialogues concerning the invention of printing. These were in great measure destroyed during the civil wars; but the fragments collected by Scriverius manifest that he attributes the honour of the invention to Haerlem, although he acknowledges that it was in a rough state, and that it was greatly improved at Mentz.

5. Ludorium

5. Ludovicum Guicciardini, the celebrated Italian, who passed much time in the Netherlands, and died at Antwerp in the year 1589, aged 66 years, published the history of Holland in the year 1565. Speaking of the City of Haerlem, he not only mentions it as the first place where printing was exercised, but enumerates many particulars similar to those related by Junius, or De Jonge. He says that Mentz had brought the art to such perfection that many persons had attributed the first discovery to that place, but he is of opinion that the rudiments of the art were laid at Haerlem, and conveyed from thence by a servant of the inventor to Mentz. He imagines also that cast types were first used at Haerlem. This author could not take his information from the Dutch historian, as his work was published ten years earlier.

6. D. V. Coornhert, who died in the year 1590, aged 68 years, had erected a printing press at Haerlem in the year 1560, and in his dedication to the magistrates of Haerlem, prefixed to an edition of *Officia Ciceronis* according to the improved method, mentions it as a fact well known that the art originated in their city, was conveyed to Mentz in a surreptitious manner; but that it was advanced to a great degree of perfection in that place.

Many

Many more authorities of a similar nature might be brought forwards, but these will manifest that the claims of Haerlem to the *Invention* are by no means without foundation.

They also undertake to confirm many of the above assertions by *internal* evidence. Several copies of the *Spiegel der behoudenisse*, which is one of the first books that issued from the Haerlem press, are in existence, and their appearance perfectly corresponds with what has been uniformly acknowledged relative to the rudeness of the impression. Mr. Meerman in the second vol. of his *Origines Typograph.* has favoured the publick, not only with an accurate imitation of the first page of that curious book, but with specimens of the progressive improvements that were made at the Haerlem press in subsequent editions of that work, and in several other publications. To these he has prefixed curious specimens of the first essays made by Coster, in a little book obviously made for the use of his brother's children. They consist of the alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and two or three other prayers. As it is absolutely impossible for me to give you any just ideas of these different impressions, I shall, by way of humble substitute, relate to you the particulars of my own enquiries; exclusive of their being
admitted

admitted as proofs, they may perhaps gratify your curiosity.

Several years ago I was conducted by one of the Scheepens of Haerlem to the Town-house. Amongst other curiosities was shewn the impression of a book which was said to be the first fruits of the printing press. I looked at it, admired it, and like too many other travellers departed with a confused idea of every thing but that I had seen it; I felt myself however somewhat superior to all those whom I found had not enjoyed a similar opportunity of directing their eyes to the same object. Indeed my total ignorance of the Dutch language would at that period have prevented my deriving much information, had I been warmly disposed.

The last summer, being in the neighbourhood of Haerlem, I was determined to repeat my visit to the Stadt-house, where the archives of the city are deposited, and to be more minute and circumstantial in my examination. This has enabled me to communicate to you the following particulars.

The first book they exhibit which is said to have been printed by Coster is in the old German Letter, and in a quarto form. It abounds with abbreviations, every (n) per example is indicated by a stroke over the preceding letter.

The

The printing is only on one side of of a page, and the pages are made to face each other, but they are not distinguished by numbers. The book has neither title nor date, either at the beginning or end ; but it is supposed to have been printed about the year 1422. The introductory sentence is as follows :

Dit is de prologie vāder spiegel ōfer be-
houdēisse so wie ter riecht vardichtē vele
mēschē wie fallē blicke alse steerē in die
ewieghe ewichede. Hierom ist dat ie tottē
leringe vele mēschē dit boek heb aenge-
dacht te ver gaderē.

“ This is the prologue of the mirror of our
“ redemption to the justification of many
“ men who shall shine as stars in the ever ever-
“ lasting. Therefore is it that I, to the instruc-
“ tion of many men, have meditated to com-
“ pose this book.”

It is a small quarto, and to prevent it from wearing out, the blank side of each page is pasted upon paper. Its object is to illustrate scripture history by the aid of prints. The cuts are in wood. Although the book is in the Dutch Language there is an explanatory sentence under each plate in Latin. The first of these represents Adam and Eve, and the inscription under the figures is *mulier decessit verum ut comederit*. The whole is scarcely legible, and between the

Ut and *comederit* is a word so much effaced as to be unintelligible. Indeed the whole impression is imperfect and appears as if it had been made with an old battered type. None of the lines are accurately strait, and many of the letters stand from their connection—The figures are much paler than the letters.

Another edition of the same book exhibited is said to have been published in the year 1440. the type is much better and the abbreviations are much less numerous. Thus what in the first edition was *dat ie totte* in the second is *dat ie totten*. This has neither date nor title originally affixed; a modern title is as follows;

Liber Tabularum ligno incisarum a Laurentio Costero Harlemonsi, circa an: Salutis M.CCCC.XXVIII.

A third book submitted to examination, is a copy of the first book that was printed at *Mentz*, as many have supposed: It was *Marcii Tullii Ciceronis Arpinensis Opera*. This work is printed in a much more elegant manner than either of the former, it is upon a paper resembling vellum: The types are very clear and accurate, each paragraph begins with large letters illuminated with various colours, as is often seen in ancient manuscripts of valuable works, and it is printed on both sides of the leaves. But this also is
without

without date or place specified. Bound up with it, is a manuscript de *Legibus*. This is a large quarto. Another book printed by *Coster* without page or date is a small quarto, it is upon Religious Subjects, without figures, and in the Dutch Language; its peculiarity consists in its being the first book that issued from the Haerlem Press, printed on both sides of the leaf. The fifth publication is a large volume consisting of several hundred pages, though the pages are not numbered, nor were either of the preceding. It has few abbreviations; and it is printed on each side, with two columns in each page. It begins in the following manner:

Hier beghinnen de tetelen dy syn de namen der boek dar men afspreken sal en̄ occ de capitelen der eerwaerdighen mans bartolome engelsman en̄ een ghoerdent broeder van sinte franciscus oerde. Ende heeft xix. boeke de sprekende syn de eygenscappen der dingen, dats te seyghen vant recht in wesen alder gheschapen dinghen so wel sienlic als unsienlic lichamlic en̄ unlichamlic neet eytgefonded.

Literal translation.

“ Here begin the titles which are the names
 “ of the book man (we) shall discourse of and also
 “ the chapters of the respectable man Bartholo-
 “ mew Engelsman and a true brother of Saint
 “ Francis's

“ Francis’s order. And has 19 books that
 “ speak of the properties of things, that is to say,
 “ of the right existence of all created things,
 “ visible as well as invisible, corporeal as well as
 “ incorporeal not omitted.” The closing para-
 graph of the work is as follows :

Hier eyndet dat boek welcke ghehieten is
 Bartholomeus van den proprietyten der dingen ;
 in den jaer our heren M.CCCCLXXXV. op
 de heylighen kersavent. Ende is geprint ende
 oech mede voleyndt te Haerlem in Holland ter
 eren Godes ende om leringhe der menschen van
 meester Zacop Beccart gheborē van Zerixzee.

Literal translation.

“ Here endeth that book which is called Bar-
 “ tholomeus of the properties of things ; in
 “ the year of our Lord 1485, upon the holy
 “ Christmas Eve ; and is printed, and is also
 “ ended at Haerlem in Holland, to the honour
 “ of God, and to the instruction of men, by
 “ maeſter Jacob Beccart, born at Zerichſee.”

I ſhall omit an imitation or *ſac ſimile* of the
 articles and different ſignatures of the perſons
 concerned in the treaty of Utrecht, published
 in 1578, highly ornamented, and very hand-
 ſome, and a written imitation of printing
 dated 1498. Some ſmall fragments of paper
 that are printed upon are alſo preſerved as
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choice relicts, they are supposed to have been fragments of proof sheets.

It may appear singular, that although several foreigners mention an edition of *Donatus* which was printed in Holland, prior to the one published at Mentz, and assert that the former served as a model for the latter, yet the Dutch have not been able for the space of three centuries to verify these assertions by producing the work; to the great mortification of their own party, and triumph of their opponents. They were obliged to rest satisfied with the general answer, that when the Art of Printing was considerably advanced from its first rude state, the earliest, and more imperfect editions were destroyed, as waste paper. But Seiz, who published his treatise in the year 1740, has demonstrated that the conjecture was well founded. The fact is curious, and I will translate the passage. "As this last sheet concerning Haerlem was going to be printed off, John Enschedi having purchased some books at a publick sale, bought a Dutch Pfalter, in small octavo, printed by H. E. van Homberch in the year 1498, at Delft in Holland. It was bound in leather, according to the oldest fashion. Perceiving that the binding
" was

“ was made fast to the paper within, by means
“ of two slips of parchment, that were glued
“ between them, and that something was
“ printed upon these in a very old character,
“ he detached the slips and found to his great
“ surprise, that they were fragments of a *Gram-*
“ *matica Donati*, and after we had examined
“ and compared the letters, they appeared to
“ us of the same form, and with the same de-
“ fects, as those in the Edition of the *Spiegel der*
“ *Beboudenis* van L. Coffer.”

The time in which this important discovery of the printing art was made by Laurence, the advocates for Haerlem do not pretend to ascertain with minute exactness, but from circumstantial evidence they collect that the first idea must have been suggested to Laurence about the year 1428, or 1430. The primary object of Laurence being to instruct the children of his sister's husband in a new and amusing manner; some of them, by teaching them the alphabet, and others by instructing them in the Latin language; as is obvious by the little book of prayers; it is naturally conjectured that the eldest of these children was about ten or eleven years of age. Many collateral circumstances prove that this eldest son was married

about the year 1438, or 1440. As it is not customary to marry very young in this part of the world, it is a liberal concession to allow that he was not more than twenty years of age, when he entered into holy wedlock. Consequently the supposition that he was ten or twelve years of age, when Coster was instructing him in the Latin, in the manner described, brings the important æra at least to 1430. This conjecture is confirmed by the state of printing at Haerlem in 1440. An Edition of Donatus, and the Latin of the Spiegel onser Behoudenisse, under the title of Speculum Salutis, which were published in that year, indicate such essential improvements, that considering the numberless difficulties they had to surmount, some years must have been required to prepare for and execute such important undertakings, in so great a degree of perfection.

LETTER XLI.

Mentz.

The INVENTION of PRINTING.

ALTHOUGH an impartial statement of the evidence will, in most cases, enable a person to form some ideas of the merits of the cause to which they relate, yet I suppose that you will feel yourself more embarrassed than informed, by the confusion and contrariety of the testimonies which were submitted to your inspection in my last letter. The authorities on each side seem to be equally respectable; and should we imagine that some of them were influenced by any partiality for person or place, we cannot suppose this to have been so influential as to seduce their integrity. What medium then can be adopted by means of which some regular system may be formed, out of such jarring materials? With the assistance of my friends *Seiz* and *Meerman*, I have however formed one for myself, and it shall be the business of the present letter to acquaint you how I formed it, and what it is, and if you

are not pre-engaged I would advise you to adopt it, until something more satisfactory shall present itself.

You will acknowledge, that in summing up the evidence it will be the safest way to enquire what articles all, or the majority of the parties, admit, and wherever there is an apparent discordancy, to endeavour to promote a perfect reconciliation if it be possible, and if it be not, to give the preference to that account which is the most simple, disinterested, natural, uniform, consistent with itself, with collateral circumstances, and which contributes the largest share to the solution of difficulties.

It is universally agreed that printing was discovered some time between the years 1428, and 1450. Most authors allow it to have been from 1430 to 1440. It is fully proved that four persons, distinguished by the names of Geinsfleisch, Gutenberg, Faust, and Schœffer, were engaged in the exercise of printing at *Mentz*, between the years 1440 and 1450, although there is such a diversity of sentiment, which of these four introduced it, or whether either of them was in reality the inventor. The documents produced in consequence of the process between one Gutenberg, and the heirs of Driezehn, demonstrate that a person of that name was occupied in establishing a
pres

press at *Straßburg* about the year 1436. But no proofs are extant to manifest that he succeeded in that city. The first books that issued from the *Straßburg* press were published by Mentil. It is also known that Gutenberg left that city much in debt, and that he joined himself with Geinsfleische in conducting a printing office at Mentz.

The advocates for Haerlem are ready to allow these and many other circumstances as they do not invalidate the priority of their claim. They maintain that every circumstance mentioned is perfectly consistent with the assertion that some one of these citizens of Mentz, surreptitiously conveyed the art from Haerlem to that city. If they have proved, or rendered this assertion highly probable, then will the scale turn with a very great preponderancy in favour of Haerlem and of Laurence Coster.

It is an undoubted fact, that printing was exercised at Haerlem, at a very early period. This fact is not only supported by testimonies, which, though traditional, are fully as respectable as any that have been produced in favour of the claims of the opponent parties, but it is confirmed by the following fact: It is well known that England stole the art from Holland about the year 1460, in consequence of a deliberate

and expensive plan of seducing one of the workmen from the Haerlem press. If we consider the innumerable essays to be made, and difficulties to be surmounted, before so complicated an art can be brought to perfection; if we consider that, with all the present improvements, and advantages of expertness, printing is still a tedious process, and that it must have been infinitely more tedious in its first establishment, when each letter was separately cut by the hand, when infinite embarrassments must arise in setting the press; when the press itself was by no means adapted to dispatch; and when the artists themselves were novices in every branch. If we consider that the Haerlem press must have arisen to a high degree of celebrity, in order to awaken the attention of England, and inspire the wish to import so extraordinary and useful an invention; (which must have been a very slow process at an age when the intercommunication between the two countries was not frequent, and the attention to literature was by no means general) if we consider all these circumstances, it is very obvious that Holland must have been in possession of the printing art several years previous to its being transplanted into England.

Only three suppositions can be made concerning the invention; either Haerlem must have
acquired

acquired a knowledge of it from Mentz, or Strasburg; or one of these cities must have learned it from the other, or from Haerlem; or two of the contending cities, at least, must have made the important discovery unconnectedly with each other, and nearly at the same period.

The last supposition is so improbable, that no one is disposed to admit it. Although the art once discovered, manifests its principle to have a close resemblance to the manner of making an impression by seals, and to the mode formerly practised by the Grand Sultan, of literally setting his hand to an edict by making an impression of his whole hand dipped in ink, yet as so many ages had passed without the idea of modern printing having been suggested by either of the modes so analogous, the probability is as millions to one against the idea being suggested to two different persons, at distant places, at the same time. Whoever should believe this, is prepared to believe that the atoms of Epicurus exclaimed at the same instant: "Come, let us dance into order." Of consequence, the question to be examined is, on which side is the preponderancy of evidence? Is it in favour of the opinion that Haerlem derived its knowledge of printing from one of these German cities, or did either of them receive it from Haerlem,

According

According to the statement of the facts and allegations given in the preceding letter, the force of evidence apparent to me, is much in favour of Haerlem, for the following reasons.

1. The narrative of Junius, in favour of Haerlem, and of Laurence Coster, respecting the *discovery* of printing, is much more simple, uniform, consistent, and devoid of motives for partiality, than any of the narratives adduced by the advocates for Mentz. Several very natural, and very probable circumstances, are minutely related, and several credible witnesses are produced, who have traced the invention up to Coster with so much perspicuity, that if it be allowed that the discovery was made at Haerlem, not the least embarrassment remains concerning the author of it. The accidental manner in which the idea was at first suggested is natural: the persons for whom the first letters were cut out of wood are specified: The name of the book-binder, who is said to have slept with the supposed thief, is mentioned, and the existence of such a person at that period fully proved. Compare these facts with the vague and superficial manner in which the honour of the *invention* is claimed by Mentz. No collateral and illucidating circumstances are traced, nor are the partizans of Mentz agreed among themselves to whom they shall ascribe the
the

the honour. This very singular fact not only weakens their pretensions, by defect of evidence, but this defect of evidence awakens unfavourable suspicions. Nor can it be explained in any other manner so well as by supposing that the art was introduced into Mentz in some dishonourable and surreptitious manner. We may rest assured that when the art could no longer be concealed, from lucrative motives the inventor would have stepped forwards to vindicate his right to the honour; and it was certainly as much in his power to produce authentic evidence of the fact, as it was for the witnesses at Strasburg, in the process against Gutenberg, to trace his attempts to establish a printing press in that city. These precautions could not have been omitted through indifference. Too much eagerness is manifested to support the honour of the *place*, and also to claim the honour due to every *improvement*, for us to imagine that the prime honour due to the first inventor, should remain enveloped in so much obscurity, if the supposed author could have exhibited himself in an honourable point of view. Let us, on the other hand, admit that one of these early printers at Mentz had stolen the art, and the cause of this obscurity becomes obvious. The perpetrator, conscious of the meanness which adheres to so flagrant a breach
of

of trust, and violation of his oath, would attempt concealment, respecting the mode of introduction, and highly extol any considerable improvement, as alone deserving of the public attention ; and this plan has been carefully followed. Cal-cography, or the use of metal types has been solely insisted upon, as worthy the name of printing ; and when the evidence in favour of Haerlem could not be confuted, the claim has been depreciated as unworthy, not only of being brought into competition, but of notice.

Again, the narrative of Junius is exempt from every suspicion of a personal nature. He was neither a descendant from Laurence, nor his successor in the business of a printer, who might have been disposed to support the claims of the *only true original printing office*, in the way of trade. But J. Schoeffer, who is the principal witness in behalf of Faustus, was the grandson of this person, was his successor in the printing business, and attributes the honour to his ancestor manifestly as an argument by which to obtain an exclusive patent, for some of his publications, and to advertise others in the most advantageous manner.

Some slight objections have been made to the narrative of Junius, in order to invalidate its force. The story has been ridiculed as impossible.

sible. It is urged, that a printing press with all its implements would make a load much too ponderous for a thief to run away with. The answer is, that in the very infancy of printing, a Clarendon press was not to be expected. The types and other implements must have been few. Seiz forms a general calculation, by which he reduces the chief stock in trade to about twenty pounds in weight. He justly observes, that as the first press used for printing was of the same construction with family presses in common use, it would have been needless to run off with that also. It has also been objected, that Junius's History of Holland was not published until the year 1578; but he introduces his account of this invention by asserting that it took place about 120 years ago; deducting this number from 1578, the time of this pretended discovery will carry us no farther back than to 1458, which is sixteen or eighteen years after books were published at Mentz.

This objection is frivolous. This History of Holland is an extensive work. It is proved that he consulted upwards of two hundred volumes in compiling it; and it gives many internal evidences of its having been the labour of many years. It was the custom of the author, when speaking of any undertaking that was not fully accomplished,

to leave spaces, in which he might specify the date with accuracy ; but this has been sometimes omitted. Thus the objection can have no force unless it were proved that the paragraph was written about the time of his death, which was impossible.

Those who affect not to reject entirely the claims of Haerlem attempt to diminish their value, and assert with confidence and triumph, that wooden blocks alone were in use at the printing office of Coster, and that moveable types were the invention of Mentz. This was the opinion of Accursius himself, who acknowledges that the *Donatus* of Mentz was printed after a model of the one printed at Haerlem. But incontestable are the proofs that Coster, in the early stage of printing, employed moveable types. This is evident to the sight of every one who examines the specimens of early printing. The irregularity of the lines, starting of certain letters, the one depressing another, plainly indicate that the types were more moveable than the printer could have wished ; some letters are in an inverted direction, which could only be through the inadvertency of a compositor. By comparing different editions of the *Spiegel onser Beboudenisse*, the letters are the same, though the arrangement different. The *Donatus*, so lately brought

brought out of obscurity, is manifestly with the same letter as was used in a meliorated edition of the Spiegel onser Behoudenisse. Faults in one edition are corrected in another, as *nēgerbāde*, is corrected into *meingerbāde*. Different modes of spelling, and diminishing the number of contractions, demonstrate alterations that could not have been made in tables. Where spaces were requisite, the letters w, m, n, &c. were arranged to fill up the vacancies, and slips of paper were placed over them to receive the impressions. The marks of these are visible in many places.

From the above circumstances it is plain that moveable types were used at Coster's press, although it is allowed that in his first essays he might have attempted the other mode. It is also certain, that some words which most frequently occur were cut out in one type, in the manner of modern logography; and it is certain that a greater firmness was given to the weaker letters by their being conjoined in the manner of an ft, sh, ct, &c. as was the universal custom a few years ago.

2. The narrative of Junius has the superior merit of being accompanied with an internal evidence of its probability. There is perhaps no invention of importance which owes the first idea to design.—Human ingenuity must have

some

some existent material to work upon; it deals not in absolute creation; accident points to the germ, which being once discovered, the wisdom of man is sometimes able to develope it to an amazing extent. The manner in which the idea of a printing press is said to have been suggested, indicates a natural event productive of a cause adequate to the effect. The first object which Laurence Coster had in view was simply to teach his nephews their letters, by way of amusement. He fortunately thought of making stamps and impressions of each letter upon paper; an idea in itself perfectly natural. We are now surprised that the art of engraving, which had been practised many ages, had not led to the invention of the printing press. Perhaps the reason may have been, the object of engraving is always *one* and simple; the intention has always been to make an impression of *one permanent* representation; but to teach his nephews the letters of the alphabet in the manner proposed by Laurence, a *succession* of course presented itself. His alphabet being once completed, we may suppose that he would arrange it in different forms to teach the children how to spell different words, and thus a train of ideas perfectly correspondent to the first suggestion was excited, which naturally led to the important discovery. The specimens of
short

short prayers, &c. mentioned above, point out the connecting medium, as it were, between teaching these children to read and spell, and more important undertakings.

Will you accuse me of refining too much should I further argue in this manner?—Whether the narrative be true or false, it must be confessed that the relation between the cause assigned and its effect is close and intimate. The man to whom such a relation originally suggested itself, must have been equal to the discovery. Is it not easier to suppose that *Laurence Coster* was the man, than that another should invent an ingenious falsehood to his own disgrace; and to *Laurence Coster's honour!* The first idea being capable of producing the discovery, it requires much less credulity to attribute its birth to the mind of Coster, who had a correspondent and interesting object before him, than to any other person who had not such an object.

To this mass of probability, the city of Mentz has nothing to oppose that will bear comparison. The supposition of some, that three persons should unite to invent the first principles of the art, is too extravagant to be admitted, and those who have confined the invention to one man, trace no steps, nor suggest the most distant causes that could lead to it.—Analogous to this argument is the following,

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3. No

3. No invention of a complicated nature has ever been discovered at once, and in all its parts ; one idea is gradually suggested by a former. In the first essays, imperfections are discovered ; to remove which is the object of subsequent attempts. To the removal of capital defects succeed the ideas of greater advantages than were at first proposed ; such as a more extensive operation, perspicuity, neatness, elegance, expedition, cheapness. We may therefore infer, that if two specimens of any complicated work be laid before us, each claiming a priority, the probability is in favour of the most *imperfect*. If it be prudent to adhere to the above rule, the pretensions of the *Moguntian* press are in danger of being rejected ; for the earliest specimens from this, are much more perfect than the latest specimens exhibited as proceeding from the press of Coster. When the deception respecting the imitation of manuscripts could no longer remain concealed, the next object was to excel them in perspicuity and cheapness. This will abundantly appear by your recurring to the facts stated in the preceding letter. The gradations of improvement respecting the ink, the goodness of types, rendering the text more conspicuous by avoiding those perpetual abbreviations, which the tediousness of copying by the pen had introduced, the
economy

economy of paper, by printing on each side of the leaf, and by printing larger works in two columns, with smaller letters, are such as would naturally present themselves in progress of time, and yet would require time to present themselves. It is very probable that numberless difficulties, and also numberless attempts had proved abortive, before a page could be produced worthy of meeting the public eye, or that imitated the most inferior manuscript, sufficient to carry on a deception. The high degree of elegance therefore in the earliest copies from Mentz, whatever merit of another kind they may claim, is a strong argument against their priority. The art manifests too great a degree of maturity at an early period for us to suppose that the same period was that of its infancy.

The partizans of Mentz have nothing to oppose to this species of internal proof. The *Donati Gram.* and the *Breviary*, which they shew as the earliest productions of their press extant are much too perfect in the execution. They manifest that the art was considerably advanced. Some indeed have maintained that the first specimens were destroyed after considerable improvements were made. This is not probable, because Mentz has been much more eager to claim the invention than the inhabitants of Haerlem;

nor can a simple assertion of this nature be permitted to invalidate the positive evidence produced in favour of their press. "If the defunct be dead, he cannot be admitted as a witness in the court."

4. If there should have been theft in the case, which is extremely probable, as we cannot suppose, that this valuable secret could have been obtained any other way, there is much greater reason to suppose, according to the narrative of Junius, that this theft was committed by some person who carried the art to *Mentz*, than that the magistrate of Haerlem should have been guilty of the fact. I do not proceed upon the idea that every magistrate is an honest man. This would be too extravagant a position; nor will I lay much stress upon his being descended from one of the first families of Holland: first, because neither merit nor demerit are always an inheritance; secondly, if they were, his grandfather being the illegitimate son of a Count Bredenoede, the lowness of the parentage in the *female* line might be supposed to counter-balance the *respectability* of the *male*—to say nothing of the irregular and shameful manner in which he was introduced into the world. It is true, notwithstanding these disadvantages, I might avail myself of his birth, as in all these improper and indiscreet con-

connections, the *noble* blood is supposed to gain the ascendancy over the *ignoble*. I once knew a lady of family, who having married her footman, afterwards carefully instructed her children to consider themselves as *her* offspring, and not of their father, whom she declared to be a *disgrace to the family*. I waive all these considerations, but this I maintain, that the probability is much more in favour of this same magistrate than of the person that has been accused. The station in life, respectable office, and local situation of *Laurence*, plead strongly in his favour.

Were it an indisputable fact that the first printing press was established at *Mentz*, it would be improbable to the highest degree, that a magistrate of *Haerlem* should have obtained so early, and I may add *exclusive* information of the fact, or should have entertained the design of establishing a rival press. His rank and office rendered it very improbable that he should be at *Mentz* about this period, equally improbable that he should have been disposed to imitate a mechanic art of this nature. Let me add also, that as *Holland* was in a very flourishing state at this period, as it was the centre of manufactories, commerce, riches, it must have been the place of resort, from countries where neither agriculture nor commerce were sufficient to support the natives.

In the present day the influx of Germans to the different parts of Holland is immense; on the other hand, there is scarcely an instance when an individual Dutchman establishes himself in any part of Germany, unless he has been banished from his country. Now, if you admit that *Coster* was the inventor, and an inventor there must have been, the remainder of the narrative is perfectly correspondent with the supposition.

It is almost as probable that the servant he hired was a *German*, as that he required the service of any one, for, even in the present day, most of the menial servants in Holland are of that country. It is also highly probable that such a person should have abused the confidence reposed in him, and have yielded to the temptation of acquiring both wealth and renown, by establishing the invention in a distant country, where his person was safe, and where the theft itself might continue undetected.

These probable suppositions are sufficient to explain every leading circumstance relative to the affair. They explain wherefore there are no traces nor the most distant hints concerning the manner in which a knowledge of the invention might have been conveyed from *Mentz* to *Haerlem*, the reason of that obscurity attending the establishment of a press at *Mentz*.

LETTER

LETTER XLII.

Mentz.

The INVENTION of PRINTING.

THE arguments and considerations that were mentioned in my last letter, are chiefly directed against the pretensions of *Mentz*; but you will perceive that most of them are equally applicable to the claim of *Straßburg*. If they prove anything, they prove in favour of *Haerlem* a priority in point of time, and a great superiority respecting internal evidences. It is plain that the attempts of *Gutenberg*, at *Straßburg* were not earlier than about the year 1436. It is also plain, notwithstanding the progress he may have made, that he failed in the attempt; for there are no proofs that he published any works at *Straßburg*, and it is well known that he was obliged to leave that city and unite with *Geinsfleisch*, in the superintendancy of a press at *Mentz*.

Although in my second letter on Printing, I remarked that the subject related both to the author of the *invention* of this art, and also to the

authors of subsequent *improvements*, yet I did not bring myself under any obligation to examine each question with equal attention. The invention is not only the most important, but it was involved in peculiar difficulties, and has been chiefly the subject of litigation. Respecting subsequent improvements, it is agreed that they were made at Mentz, though it is not agreed what share the four printers already mentioned may have had in the business. Were I to endeavour to explain all these difficulties, trace their causes, and produce evidences as in the first question, I should be under the necessity of extending the subject to two or three letters more, by which I am convinced your patience could not be more wearied than my pen. I hope therefore that you will be contented with a summary account, in which the different articles are adjusted in the most probable and consistent manner; and by which due honour is paid where honour is due; and that you will not expect any other proofs and documents for what may be advanced.

Meerman adjusts the dispute concerning the different persons engaged, and the two Gutenbergs, the one at Mentz, and the other at Strasberg, who have been alternately considered the same and different persons, like the two Sofias in the play, in the following manner: he has
proved

proved that Geinsfleisch was the elder brother of Gutenberg, that this last has some times been distinguished by the name of *John Geinsfleisch*, junior, called *Gutenberg*, but that his usual appellation was simply *Gutenberg*. It is proved that Faustus was a rich and respectable citizen of Mentz; that he was early connected with Geinsfleisch in establishing the first printing press that was erected at Mentz; and it is also proved that Peter Schoeffer was originally a servant in the printing office, although afterwards he married the daughter of Faustus, and became a principal in the business. The particulars of the process against John Gutenberg, the junior brother, demonstrate that he was an inhabitant of Strasburg in the year 1436; and render it probable that he was there some time before. Authentic documents demonstrate that John Geinsfleisch, the elder brother, resided at Mentz, in the years 1441, 1443, 1445, 1450, 1456, but there are no traces of his being at Mentz earlier than in 1441.

Having thus made you acquainted with the *Dramatis Personæ*, I shall now proceed to give you a short sketch of the parts which it is the most probable that they acted.

Allowing that theft was in the case, and that this theft was committed by a German, the strongest

strongest suspicions will fall upon John Geinsfleische, junior. The characters and situations of Faustus, and Schoeffer, fully exculpate them; the younger Gutenberg was resident at Strasburg; nor does it appear that he left that city before the year 1444, when he connected himself with his brother, who had already established a press at Mentz. He could not therefore be the *founder* of that press. As there are no documents to prove that Geinsfleische was at Mentz prior to 1441, the strongest presumption so perfectly corresponds with the time in which the advocates for Koster assert that the theft was committed; that circumstantial evidence can scarcely be stronger.

The following arrangement therefore, which the deepest researches will justify, gives a consistency to the whole of this intricate affair.

John Geinsfleische having robbed the press at Haerlem of the necessary implements, about the year 1438 or 1439, established himself at Mentz in the year 1440, where he published the *Alexandri Galli Doctrinale & Patri Hispani tractatos*, with the very types that were the original property of Laurence Koster. Encouraged by the profits arising from their sale, he undertook other publications; for example, the *Donati Grammatica*, *Tabula Alphabetica*, *Catbolicon & Speculum Salutis*, for which he attempted to prepare
new

new types. But this process was tedious, and the expences incurred in so great an undertaking involved him in difficulties. To extricate himself from these he revealed the secret of the invention to Faustus, who, being a man of property, furnished the required sum, and shared in the profits with Geinsfleische.

Having experienced the great inconveniency attending wooden types; Geinsfleische set himself to cut them out in metal; and after some successful attempts, he and Faustus undertook to print a large and elegant edition of the Bible, in two vol. folio. This was published in 1450, was sold for elegant manuscript, and dispersed over Europe at an immense price upon its first publication.

The time employed in preparing for and executing this grand work, is supposed to have been about eight years; disputes arose between the partners concerning the expences incurred; these were followed by a law-suit, and the partnership was dissolved. The secret could no longer remain concealed. Two printing offices were now established, and became rivals to each other. In the year 1457, Faustus published a Psalter, and openly acknowledges that it was executed not by the pen, but *ad inventionem artificiosam imprimandi & caracterizandi*. In the mean time,

Geinsfleische associated with his brother Gutenberg, who had probably assisted at the press during the partnership of Geinsfleische and Faustus, in an inferior capacity. These brothers carved the types to a greater degree of perfection, and excelled Faustus, as appears from their publications in the year 1460. Faustus took into his service one Peter Schoeffer, an ingenious young man, who fortunately discovered the method of casting metal types, by which time and expence were saved, and a greater degree of elegance obtained, and thus they completely triumphed over the press of the two brothers. Faustus was so charmed with this essential improvement, that he recompensed its author by giving him his daughter in marriage.

One difficulty remains, whence did *Gutenberg*, the junior brother, derive his knowledge of the printing art? That he did not immediately steal it from Haerlem is plain, because an *alibi* has been fully proved. It is also plain, that he did not complete the press in such a manner as to be able to employ it; that he wasted his substance in the attempt, and was obliged to assist at the press at Mentz, which was established three or four years at least before he left Strasburg. Therefore it is not probable that the elder brother learned the art from him, and practised it
in

in a more successful manner ; and it is less probable that he should have conceived the idea of himself precisely at the same period with another. It has been shewn that Gutenberg was a man of ingenuity and a great schemer : that he had already made himself acquainted with the mysteries of polishing precious stones, and of making mirrors, as practised at Aix-la-Chapelle. All these circumstances united lead me strongly to suspect that Geinsfleische, during his residence at Haerlem, attempted to initiate his brother in the secret, by giving him a description of the whole process. In consequence of this description, Gutenberg, junior, applied himself to the mechanic parts, doubtless under the secret agreement of mutually sharing the profits. Had he succeeded, Geinsfleische would have left his master, and have united with his brother at Strasburg, and might have thought himself a very honest man in not defrauding his master of his immediate property ; but the difficulties proving insurmountable at Strasburg, he could no longer resist the temptation of going off with such implements as might be immediately used, and might serve as models for future imitation. Being more experienced, and more expert in the business, he succeeded to his wishes, and his brother finally dropped the project of establishing a press at
Strasburg,

Straßburg, upon the condition of being engaged at Mentz.

This very natural supposition solves every difficulty relative to the invention; and it will also explain the singularity of his engaging to teach others the mystery of Printing, before he was fully master of it himself. Knowing that a printing press actually existed, he knew that the scheme was not wholly problematical, and naturally supposed that no difficulties could occur that were not to be surmounted by himself, as they had been by others.

It is however candidly acknowledged by Mr. Meerman, that the simple invention of wooden moveable types, and the amelioration of these types, are the only claims which the friends of Laurence Coster can justly make. He allows that Junius is mistaken respecting the early use of metal types at the Haerlem press. There are no authentic proofs that Haerlem was in possession of metal types, which constituted a new era in printing, before the year 1472. But at the distance of time in which Junius wrote his history, it was extremely natural for him to confound the two periods together; as two objects may appear to distant spectators to be in contact, notwithstanding the space there may be between them. To a similar confusion, so unavoidable in an age where

where authentic information of distant events was obtained with such difficulty, may be ascribed the mistake of *Person*, made by Atkins, who gives the honour to one *Cuthenberg* of Haerlem, instead of to *Laurence Coster*. It is plain that Cuthenberg is the same as *Gutenberg*; and report having ascribed the invention to a person of that name, and having represented Haerlem as the *place*, it was natural for one who wrote from report, to make a mistake which gave an apparent consistency to his narrative.

But you will enquire, how came it to be the general opinion of Europe that the first printing press was established in Germany, in opposition to such an assemblage of probable evidences to the contrary?

This will be easily explained by directing our attention to the publications that first issued from the press at Mentz and at Haerlem. While the magistrate of Haerlem and his successors were principally occupied in publishing treatises that had no other than a *local* popularity; works in the *Dutch* language, and which of consequence were confined to their own country; Mentz sent into the world editions of such works as were universally interesting, and in the *Latin* language, which may be termed the living tongue of the learned at this period; and these attracted the greater attention

tention as they excelled manuscripts in elegance, as well as cheapness. When the art could no longer be concealed, the next object was to give elegant and cheap editions of such works as would ensure a sale. It is not decided whether the bible or some of the classics were the first publications which attracted the attention of Europe; but either of them was calculated to spread the celebrity of the press. To print a magnificent edition of the bible at a time when the Protestants began to emancipate themselves from the fetters of Popery, and claimed the right of private judgment, was an undertaking of a very popular nature. The bold singularity of the attempt, and the influence it might have upon religious opinions were calculated to engage the eager attention of each party. Thus again, printed editions of any of the classics, by which they could be purchased at an expence comparatively trifling, must have been highly acceptable to all the learned in Europe. Amidst the general rumour excited by such popular works, as no competitor appeared, or was mentioned, the place from whence such works proceeded must have enjoyed the exclusive honour of the invention. We may also add, that as Germany was much more the seat of literature than Holland, and its authors far more numerous, in
pro-

proportion the celebrity of the Moguntian press would be much more generally diffused than that of Haerlem. Suppose the proportion to have been as twenty to one, these numerous trumpets of fame sounded forth in honour of Mentz, must silence the weaker voice of an individual Hollander, in favour of his countryman.

From the above impartial statement of the different claims, and animadversions concerning them, are we not fully authorized, my good Sir, to conclude, that Haerlem was the place, and Laurence Coster the person; that the knowledge of the invention was conveyed from thence to the city of Mentz, where it unquestionably received very important improvements, and that the popular publications which were printed at Mentz, united with these improvements, were the causes that the press at Haerlem has been so long deprived of the honours to which it had so just a claim.

But whether these adjustments be satisfactory or not, let us most devoutly thank God for the event. The printing press is the compass of the mind; by its means alone it is that the regions of science can be duly explored; that the shoals and quicksands of error can be avoided; and that we

are enabled to steer in the right track of genuine improvement.

It is true, that soon after the printing art was published in various parts of Europe, the world was deluged with such torrents of nonsense, and absurdities, that some have regretted the discovery. But the more despicable these publications, the stronger the proofs they give us of the despicable state of the human mind; for there is not a doubt but every author seeking either honour or profit, would communicate to the public the very best thoughts he had at command. If by comparing the earlier with the general strain of modern publications, you should be astonished at our superiority, as I think you must be, you ought in justice to attribute the difference to the invention of the press. The comprehensive knowledge which printing has enabled every student to obtain, the increased acumen, with which every subject is now investigated, and the freedom of investigation indulged, give to every idea a full scope, and power to do itself justice. Nor is it possible that pernicious error should finally triumph. However partial an author may be to his own conceptions; or however he may be instrumental in nourishing the absurd, or interested prejudice of individuals; or however seductive his sophistry

phistry may prove for a time; the public at large cannot always remain the dupes of error. The public at large desires *truth*; and where the search after truth is not impeded by arbitrary authority, every error and falsehood, and pernicious principle will finally be detected and exposed, by some penetrating and generous spirit that detests ignorance, falsehood and artifice, with the interested motives that foster them; every sophism will receive an impartial hearing, full investigation, and a subsequent dismissal.

Did you but know, my dear Sir, how I have been fatiguing my poor brains with these abstruse speculations, I am sure you would permit me to refresh myself. It is the custom of you English, in almost every public business, to adjourn from the church to the tavern; and why may not I, in imitation of such good examples, adjourn from investigations, almost as dry as one of your sermons, and from devout wishes quite as fervent as the most fervent of your prayers, to a couple of bottles of the choicest Rhenish wine. They are the last I have of the growth of *Rüdesheim*, and I could not have reserved them for a better occasion. With your leave I will descend from my study to my parlour to meet a couple of friends; draw the cork, and drink a few glasses to the following toasts:

Supposing that the anterior claims of Haerlem have been fully established, I propose,

1. To the memory of Jan. Laurence Coster, inventor of the Art of Printing.—A bumper with three cheers.

2. To the memory of Jan. Faustus, and Peter Schoeffer, patron, and principal improver of the Art of Printing.—A bumper, with three cheers. If you have a mind to add a bumper to the two brothers, you may, but no three cheers.

3. The freedom of the press.—A bumper and three cheers.

4. May every just and liberal sentiment be nobly *expressed*, and fully *impressed*.

5. May no plan of public utility be *suppressed*.

6. May every inclination to tyrannize be *repressed*.

7. May merit never be *oppressed* or *depressed*.

8. To compress all into one toast—May every useful thought be fully *expressed*, and duly *impressed*, and neither *repressed*, nor *suppressed*; nor may worth ever be *oppressed* or *depressed*.

A bumper, three cheers, standing foot, clinking glasses, and then conclude with

A SONG.

A S O N G.

I.

See riches circulate at will,
 By coinage, and by minting :
 The Printing Art is nobler still.
Truth circulates by printing.

C H O R U S.

The Printing Art, &c.

II.

Since truth is truth, as all allow,
 It cannot suffer *finting* :
 Pernicious Error rears her brow ;
 When tyrants limit printing.

CHORUS. Pernicious Error, &c.

III.

Since Freedom's self sometimes runs mad,
 The thought is well worth hinting :
 Let useful truths be modest clad ;
 And then go on with printing.

CHORUS. Let useful, &c.

IV.

But Vice, you'll say, with hideous leer,
 At Virtue will be *squinting* !
 Well, if Vice squints, and looks so queer :
 We'll mend her sight with Printing.

C H O R U S.

Well, if Vice squints, and looks so queer,
 We'll mend her sight with Printing.

LETTER XLIII.

Frankfort.

THE day after our trip to Wisbaden, we determined to visit Frankfort, where, as we were informed, a large concourse of strangers was already assembled, and great preparations were making for the election of an Emperor. Our original plan was to travel by land as far as Mentz, to dispose of our carriage, and return by water to Bonn or Cologne. But our curiosity being excited by the favourable representations given at the public table of the city of Frankfort, and its extraordinary brilliancy, upon so extraordinary an occasion ; and its being further suggested that Frankfort was at this period the most promising market for the sale of our post-chariot, we resolved to deviate from the first plan by spending a few days in that city.

The distance from Mentz to Frankfort is about 35 miles. The road is very pleasant, and part of it is peculiarly interesting, as it leads
over

over hills that are productive of the most costly grapes. Soon after we had repassed the river, and quitted the Hamlet on its opposite side, we ascended the hills of *Hockheim*. Hockheim is a small village, about six or seven miles distant from Mentz. The richest wines, according to your English estimation, are the growth of this district: the greater part of its vintage is reserved for *your* consumption, and gives the name of *Old Hock*, not only to its choicest juices, but to all the Rhenish wines, good, bad, and indifferent, that are consumed among you, at such exorbitant prices. In consequence of a certain and rapid sale abroad, the choicer wines are by no means cheap at their source. Generous Rhenish will cost from 2s. 6d. to 3s. the bottle, either at Mentz or at Frankfort.

As we passed through the vineyards, where the sun, the light, the air, the soil, were all busily at work to pump, to assimilate, to flavour, to ripen, we lamented that it was too early in the season for us to taste the fruits of their labours, or to be witnesses to the joys of the vintage, when troubles and sorrows are lost in mirth and gaiety.

About half way from Mentz, as we had passed through a decent village, we were struck with the appearance of a splendid mansion on

our right hand. Its solitary magnificence seemed proudly to insult every dwelling of not only the surrounding district, but of every town and village in our road. Numerous were the patriotic remarks we made upon this occasion. We were calculating the sums which arbitrary power and princely pride, must have extorted from the hard hand of honest industry, to raise this stately pile. But lo! we learned upon enquiry, that the foundation and superstructure, and statues and fountains, and elegant pallisades and smiling gardens, were all the legitimate offspring of commerce! That the luxury of the nostrils had enabled an individual administering to this luxury, to employ a small portion of his ample fortune in erecting this elegant house of retirement. In short, it was the country seat of that celebrated Italian, *Balangarn*, who is deemed the most capital merchant of Frankfort; particularly in the articles of snuff and tobacco. Cravenna, of Amsterdam, whose unexpected misfortunes obliged him to dispose of one of the most valuable libraries in Europe, had married his daughter. I am happy to inform you that this gentleman's commercial affairs are reinstated, but alas! the elegant library is dispersed for ever.*

* Mr. Cravenna died since the above was written.

Upon

Upon the information that this noble edifice belonged to a *merchant*, the registers of our brains were immediately changed: Our ideas played a more chearful tune, and we expatiated with glee upon the immense advantages of commerce, when the most trifling of all the artificial wants becomes a source of industry and wealth.

But not to detain you longer on the road, behold us arrived at Frankfort.

This city is venerable for its great antiquity, being one of the oldest towns in Germany, and it has rendered itself respectable by the riches and influence which brisk commerce brings with it. Although it is an imperial city, yet it enjoys great privileges, and is exonerated from those numberless taxes and impositions, which are so detrimental to trade. Hence does the small river that flows by it's walls, become a more plentiful source of wealth to its inhabitants, than the mighty Rhine itself, to any of the cities we had seen placed by its borders.

Freedom of speech and briskness of trade seem to have communicated freedom to the manners, and briskness to the very countenances of the inhabitants. In all places of general resort, at the public tables, coffee-houses, assemblies

blies and theatres, there is much less restraint in manners or conversation. This difference appeared to us very considerable, compared with every other city we had visited.

In consequence of the riches introduced by commerce, this town, notwithstanding it is so very ancient, keeps itself in good repair. Although most of the houses are built in the antique form, the upper stories projecting over the lower, and although the materials of most are timber, lath and plaster, yet as there is a freshness upon their faces, and as the principal streets are wide, they are not altogether destitute of either beauty or majesty.

The town is also ornamented and rendered spacious by three large squares, in which are placed the houses of the more opulent merchants, and some hofs or palaces of the neighbouring Princes.

The principal houses are built of red or white stone, some of these are very sumptuous. The two inns distinguished by the appellations of the *Red House*, and the *White House*, are known to most travellers, and are ranked among the first inns in Europe. Our address was to the Red House, but all the apartments in both these hotels were either occupied or engaged to Princes, Counts, and Barons, against the election of the

Emperor. We therefore drove to the White Swan, at no great distance from the bridge which is thrown over the Maine. This house began to fill with the overflowings of the others; but we were fortunately in time to engage convenient apartments, and we had every reason to be satisfied with our accommodations.

To these marks of superior riches within the walls may be added the appearances *without*. The city is not encumbered with suburbs, but surrounded with the country seats and pleasure gardens of the richer inhabitants. With these are intermixed public houses, and gardens for citizens of the second class, resembling the tea-drinking houses which surround your metropolis. After having taken a circuit round the town, on the second day of our visit, we attempted to refresh ourselves at one of these; but all the rooms were pre-occupied by the satellites of some of the German Princes.

I need not tell you that the Germans are infinitely more social in their dispositions than the Dutch. The richer class indulge, both in town and country, to more festivity and more social intercourse with their acquaintances, than is customary among us: and the lower orders often form their parties, and enjoy rural excursions, by which, while they amuse themselves, they enliven

liven the scene to the eyes of a spectator. You have no idea of the stillness and quiet of a Dutch country life. Though our merchants do not appear at any time in a great bustle, yet they retire to their country seats, in order to enjoy solitude; *Stilltjes leeven*; and many of them, notwithstanding the number of horses that are prancing in their stables, and variety of carriages in their remise, are just conveyed from town to country, and from country to town, without surveying the country around them, or enjoying any society; excepting it be some branch of their family, once or twice in a season.

I took a solitary walk last summer in the neighbourhood of Haerlem, which abounds with these country houses; and the perfect stillness and tranquility that prevailed, as I passed from seat to seat, struck me so forcibly, that at first I began severely to censure, in my own mind, this selfish unsocial disposition of my neighbours. At length, as in every subject it is good to *view* each side of the question, I considered myself as one of these retired gentlemen, walking in his garden with his night-gown and slippers, and with his ever faithful pipe in his mouth; or sitting upon a neatly painted bench, in a *sombre berceau*, ruminating upon the placid joys of his situation,

situation, and comparing them with the noisier bustle of more active characters, until the following answer to the insult of an Englishman's criticism suggested itself; with which, however unsatisfactory it may be to you, I am persuaded my neighbours would be completely satisfied.

You talk of life's current, each storm and each trouble ;

We find it a lake that scarce raises a bubble !

You live in a hurricane, fond of commotions,

We sit in our slippers, and laugh at your notions.

Hic jacet's the motto for each country house,

Rest en luy—here we lie as still as a mouse.

We invite neither stranger, nor friend I must own ;

But then we are quiet and let them alone !—

The mortal is censured, whose whimsical head,

Composes his Epitaph e'er he is dead ;

But we can do this, without whim or caprice ;—

We are dead while we live—live as long as we please !

*Tho' the smoke from our pipes shews we've pow'r to draw
breath,*

Few know that we've lived till the day of our death.

Then Aanspreckers prove it, with much pomp and pride,

We must just have lived, or we could not have died !

Aanspreckers are a kind of Undertakers; or persons appointed to announce births and deaths to all the families who have the most distant acquaintance or connection with the parties. They dress like their domines, or clergymen, in black, with a black cloak and a band. By their pedantick vociferations at the doors of our houses, they

they frequently make noise enough to awaken the *apparently* dead. Moralists remark that we seldom know our blessings until they are taken from us; and I assure you it has often happened to me not to know that I had been blessed with that great comfort, a quiet and respectable neighbour, before his final departure was announced to me by one of these Aanspreekers.

But to return from Haerlem to Frankfort.

The doctrines of Martin Luther, are the established orthodoxy of this place. Because Martin, with just and indignant zeal, shook off the tyrannic yoke of the Roman church, his followers most tenaciously believe that he was lucky enough, by his sole efforts, to shake off every possible error, and retain every minutest truth of Christianity. Consequently they, in their turn, consider the Calvinists as heretical innovators. While the Roman Catholics enjoy their principles and worship in full liberty, and have their churches, and monasteries, and nunneries in copious abundance, the Calvinists are obliged to resort to *Saxenhausen*, which is a hamlet on the opposite side of the Maine, to enjoy public worship in peace and tranquility. Luckily some of the richest inhabitants are of this sect, and the number of coaches that conduct them to their conventicle,

venticle, demonstrate that if they possess less truth, they are somewhat indemnified by a larger portion of wealth. Whether the Lutherans would be more charitably disposed towards the Roman Catholics, if the free toleration of them had not been a condition of their exclusive privilege, I know not. Perhaps they might. Small points of similarity have sometimes a great effect. The one believing in *Con*, and the other *Transubstantiation*, they certainly have some right to unite in brotherly love, and fall foul upon those who believe in *no substantiation* at all. Besides, Lutherans being aggressors in the quarrel with the mother church, may naturally entertain a more tolerant disposition towards their ancient parent, to several of whose forms and ceremonies they still adhere, than is due to upstarts that dare attempt to improve upon *their* systems of religion.

There is one thing in which the disciples of Peter, Martin and John are agreed, in most parts of the continent, that is, in rejecting the morality of the sabbath, or the necessity of keeping every part of it as a day holy unto the Lord. Of the three, Calvinists are the most decent, and the Catholics most prone to make it a day of amusement. In Holland, private circles indulge in concerts, or parties at cards ; but at Frankfort, the Lutherans, conformable to the customs of Catholic

Catholic countries, admit of public balls, plays, and operas. Without entering into the question concerning the moral obligation of keeping the Sunday with that degree of strictness with which it is still observed in England, I entertain upon the comparison, the fullest conviction of its greatest *utility*. If religion be important, some attention ought to be paid to it, and some time must be devoted to this attention, and if the day, which common consent and the laws of the country have set apart for the purpose be employed in amusements, no one will pretend that he supplies the defect, by curtailing an equal portion of time from his secular concerns. It is true, they may go to church and hear a sermon; but it is also true that let them go to church and hear two sermons per day, for the best parts of their lives, they could profit little, without some portion of time being destined to recollection. Let the preacher urge, with all the force of eloquence, the absolute necessity of reflection; and censure, in the most serious terms, the levity and dissipation of the age, they may admire the discourse, but they will immediately dance, or fiddle off the impression. Besides, preaching, as it is now conducted in every pulpit of Europe, is a miserable substitute for the regular series of private instruction. Would any one dream
that

that he was a student in philosophy by attending an harangue once a week, concerning the beauty, utility, and necessity of philosophy, or detached dissertations upon particular parts of it? Would he not acquire more knowledge by the regular attendance of a few months, to some well chosen system, than by so vague and desultory a mode of instruction? I once knew a baker who had two sons, both of whom were sober youths. The one continued with his father, and was not known to omit going regularly to a place of public worship twice every Sunday, for the space of five and twenty years, looking most attentively at the preacher, at every sermon. The other was sent to an academy, and in the space of *five* years, *had learned to make* as good sermons as any that his brother had stared at. Besides, your method in England of instructing children and servants in the duties of religion, are the sources of much more order, decency, obedience, and fidelity than could ever be expected without it. They repay your care with affection. The concern you show for their best interest will awaken their attention to your interest in their sphere of action. Your increasing complaints may in great measure be ascribed to increasing remissness in this article, and complain as you please, I am fully convinced the number of faithful domestics is still

much greater in such families as employ a portion of the Sunday in paying attention to their religious improvement, than in those which are totally negligent about them. And as I am well convinced that there are many more instances of service with fidelity and affection among you, than with us, where the conduct is universally neglected, I am justified in attributing it to this cause.

Notwithstanding I am so strenuous an advocate for the religious observance of Sundays, yet I by no means approve of the Blue Laws in some of the American States, that forbid a man to take a pinch of snuff on that day, a woman to kiss her child, or youths to take a circuit by way of a walk in going to church. Nor am I so much of a Puritan, when upon my travels, as to refuse to join in public diversions, innocent in themselves, because they are enjoyed on a Sunday. Absolute moral obligation is not to be dispensed with at any time, but the general ideas of preference, suitableness or utility, may be allowed to relax upon particular occasions. I confess therefore that we followed the multitude to the theatre on the Sunday we were at Frankfurt; and we had the pleasure to see a large, spacious, and not inelegant, building, crowded with numbers of belles and beaux, both of inhabitants

tants and occasional visitors. The company of players from Coblentz joining their forces with the one at Frankfort, exerted every effort to please. They played the opera of Don Juan, translated from the Italian. Like many of the Italian operas, the piece was absurd and extravagant in the highest degree; but the beauty of the music lulled the judgment to sleep. I was the more entertained as this was the first specimen I had enjoyed of the extreme softness of the German language when spoken to any degree of perfection, and as connected with musical composition. Nor had I any conception that those harsh and rough appearing consonants, schm, chts, rrn, dch, &c. could be melted down to so much melody, by harmonious voices and plaintive cadence.

The public buildings most worthy of notice are the cathedral church of Bartholomew, and the Römer or Stadthouse; and the distinguishing merit of these consists in the peculiar offices to which they are destined.

Although the Lutheran is the predominant religion, yet this cathedral belongs to the Catholics. It is a large, and ancient Gothic building, said to have been built by Pepin of France, enriched by Charlemagne, and plundered by that

heretic Lewis of Bavaria, because the Chapter manifested it's attachment to the Pope. He has done the business so effectually, that scarcely a church upon the continent appears more impoverished: It has neither statues, painting, nor altars worthy of notice. The chapel or conclave where the Electors give their suffrages, and that where the Emperor is crowned, are not more ornamented or in better repair than a neglected cloister; and the crucifix before the grand altar being of brass, has never been suspected of working a single miracle.

Römer is the name given to the Town-house. It is an immensely large Gothic pile, bearing the marks of great antiquity. In this building all political business is transacted. It has chambers destined to the service of the city magistrates for public offices—Chambers for the Diet of the Upper Rhine; a chamber in which the Electors deliberate concerning the choice of a new Emperor, and the articles of capitulation, or terms to be proposed to the person of their choice; and a large hall destined for great and public occasions.

In the chamber of the Electors are some good paintings. I recollect the story of Susannah and the Elders, and Bathsheba in the bath, but I cannot rightly comprehend what might render
their

their presence necessary during the deliberations of these venerable personages. The story of Damocles, the favourite of Dionysius, placed at the festive board, with a dagger suspended over him by a thread, we will suppose to be much more applicable to their feelings at the time of convocation than the preceding. Two other paintings are Scipio Africanus restoring the virgin to her lover, and Sesostris drawn in a chariot by captive kings. The first we will consider placed there as an example worthy of imitation, and the last as an instance of haughty cruelty to be held in detestation.

There are few things worthy of observation in the grand hall. What principally attracted our notice was a regular series of portraits of all the German Emperors, from the time of Conrad, in the year 900, to the late Emperor Joseph, whose portrait is already in the succession of death. These are placed in niches that surround the hall. There remain but two more niches, the one for the portrait of Leopold, and the other for his successor.

In the archives of the Römer is deposited the famous golden bull of Charles the Fourth. This bull contains the fundamental laws of the Germanic constitution. They are written in the Latin language, upon parchment. Every di-

plomatic act is upon the continent called a bull. The word is derived from the Latin word *Bulla*, and originally referred to the seal, by which the deed was rendered valid. This is called the golden bull, on account of the golden Imperial seal that is affixed to it. The golden bull regulates the most material circumstances, relative to the election and coronation of the Emperor, determines the rights of the Electors, limits their numbers, &c. La Croix observes, concerning this famous bull, that it pays little attention to the rights of the people; but that, since contests for dominion over them have frequently been so terrible, and exposed them to so much misery, it was of some moment to regulate the appointment of their master by some invariable rule.

However this bull merely serves as a general directory, without its being implicitly adhered to in every point.*

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* Monsieur La Croix, in his *Treatise on the different Constitutions of Europe*, has specified some of these deviations. The following extract may be acceptable to the English reader who has not that excellent work before him.

“Many of its regulations are abolished; those, for example, that regulate duels: others have not been put into execution; thus the Count Palatine has never exercised his right

In going to visit the cathedral church, we passed by the street destined to the semi-imprisonment of the poor oppressed Israelites. These people are too useful in a commercial town, to be totally eradicated, and therefore they have a partial toleration; but religious zeal induces bigotry to persecute them as far as self-interest will permit. It is not literally true that they are locked up in the streets where they reside every night, and that the keys are conveyed to the magistrate; but the streets are inclosed in such a manner, that this humiliating deed may be done at pleasure. On certain occasions they may not appear out of the place appropriated to them, as on the day of electing the Emperor: on other occasions they

right to judge the criminal causes of the Emperor, although it is allotted to him in the Golden Bull: others are changed; as that which granted to the Emperor exclusively the right of nominating to the vacant electorates. The number of electors, which in the Bull is limited to *seven*, has since been extended to *nine*. Again, the electors do not live upon bread and water, if they neglect to chuse a King of the Romans within the space of thirty days, although the law condemns them to a regimen so severe for sovereigns. Notwithstanding these alterations, it is considered as obligatory in all cases where there has not been an express abrogation with the consent of the States."

Constitut. des Princip. Et. Tom. I. p. 99.

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are forced out to perform the most servile offices, such as to fetch water in cases of fire. The principal employment of the multitude is to sell toys for Christian children, and to deal in old cloaths. They receive vast quantities from England; and many an English *petit maitre* who walked the streets of London in all the confidence of dress, might behold that very dress administering to the pride of a second or third order of people in some part or other of the town of Frankfort.

One condition upon which the citizens of Frankfort enjoy their exclusive privileges, is to provide suitable lodgings and accommodation for the electors and their retinue, at the time of the election; for which a small acknowledgment is paid, amounting to not more than six guilders, that is to say, between eleven and twelve shillings per month. The town presents to the Emperor a butt of the choicest Rhenish wine. Some of the citizens attempted, during the election of the present Emperor, to indemnify themselves, by demanding five pence per pound for all the meat that might be consumed by those in a public character. This demand was deemed so enormous, that several of the electors provided their own cattle.

Apart-

Apartments are engaged many months before the time, and to prevent mistakes and confusion, the arms of the different electors are placed upon the doors, with the inscription *Cbur Triers, Cbur Mentz, Cbur Baviere, &c.* that is the elector of Treves, of Mentz, of Bavaria, &c. In some parts we observed that half of a street was engaged by the electors. The hotels of the foreign ambassadors have also their arms placed before the gates.

The grand advantage that accrues to the citizens, arises from the immense concourse of strangers assembled to view the solemnities on the occasion. Not only is the increased consumption, united with the advanced price of provisions, a source of wealth, but those who are so fortunate as to have their houses situated in the principal streets, through which the processions are made, gain very considerably. It is not unusual to demand three hundred Louis d'ors for the benefit of a room containing three windows in front, or from one to five Louis d'ors for a single place, according to the rank of the stranger, and advantages of situation.

LETTER XLIV.

Frankfort.

AS we were at Frankfort in the midst of those busy preparations for the Election and Coronation of the Emperor, without having it in our power to be spectators of the scenes, we endeavoured to supply the loss, by making every enquiry concerning a ceremony which is deemed so august, and is peculiar to the German Empire. I have been so fortunate as to obtain information which I am assured is perfectly authentic. Some of these materials were collected previous to the ceremony, and some were communicated by spectators, whose high rank placed them in the most favourable situation for enquiry. The best account of the proceedings relative to the Election of a German Emperor, I have hitherto met with, is to be found in *Fenning's* Geography; but by comparing it with the materials before me, I perceive it to be very defective in several interesting particulars, and therefore shall make no apology

apology for communicating the following, as more circumstantial and accurate.

Some of the customs still continued, are so absurd that they excite a smile while we contemplate them, but I am resolved notwithstanding the many ludicrous ideas which naturally present themselves, that the narrative shall not be interrupted by any comments of my own. You will think with me, that it must be rather humiliating for the most enlightened part of the Empire to submit to forms and ceremonies, which having lost the principles and manners, that introduced and gave them originally an importance, now appear so childish and absurd.

However imprudent it may be deemed, to break through superstitious practices, consecrated by the observance of so many ages, yet you will enquire ought not the personages of the present century to reflect, in due time, that as the increasing light of every period diffuses juster ideas of propriety, it would be wise to abolish customs which instead of communicating *dignity* to a ceremony intended to be the most august and solemn, must in a few years render it the subject of universal ridicule?

It is true, an adherence to these antiquated forms and ceremonies, may always afford some
amusement

amusement to the reflecting mind that considers them as an exhibition of ancient manners, and of the superstitious principles of distant times; but when the first personages in the Empire act the most conspicuous parts in these publick exhibitions, they sink themselves down to a level with the Actors in Thespis' Cart, or the representatives of Lady Godiva, and Bishop Blaze. * But to proceed,

The Election of the German Emperors and Kings of the Romans, together with the Ceremonies of their Coronation, and anointing, took place for a series of years in the Imperial City of *Aix la Chapelle*. In former times these solemnities were performed at *Cologne*, *Ratisbon*, *Augsburg*, and other Cities of the Empire: but they are now confined to *Frankfort on the Main*, and constitute one of its exclusive privileges,

Upon the death of an Emperor, the Elector of *Mentz*, in the quality of Chancellor of the Empire, and Director or President of the Electoral College, announces the event to every

* As all the ceremonies mentioned in this and the following letter were omitted, upon the Election of the present Emperor, which took place since these letters were written, it is to be presumed that they will not be revived upon a future occasion, and perhaps this narrative may be considered as a history of what is *past*, never to be repeated.

division of the Empire. He issues out also a summons for the Election of a new Emperor. According to an express injunction of the Golden Bull, the interval may not extend beyond three months; but the injunction is not strictly observed. The Electors assemble at Frankfort, either in their own persons, or by their representatives, of whom each Elector may appoint two or three in number. It is seldom that any of the secular Electors appear in person, but the different offices allotted to the *Spiritual* Electors will not admit of their absence. Deputies are also appointed from the other States, Principalities, and free Cities of the Empire; and if any foreign Potentate thinks himself peculiarly interested in the choice he sends his representative to watch the proceedings of the College.

When these electoral personages are assembled, the Imperial Insignia, consisting of the Crown, the Sceptre, the Sword, the Globe, and other articles to be mentioned hereafter; which are used only upon such occasions, are conveyed from *Nuremburg* and *Aix la Chapelle* to Frankfort. The conveyance of these is attended with much pomp and ceremony. They are placed in a splendid car; their conductors are escorted by a numerous guard from district to district,
and

and are received in every city through which they pass, with ringing of bells and other demonstrations of joy. The Elector of Mentz next appoints the time in which their deliberations previous to the Election, shall commence. These are held in the Town-house or *Römer*, in a chamber destined solely to this purpose. They relate to the State of the Empire, the changes it may be pertinent to make, and consequently the new conditions to be proposed to the Candidates for the Imperial Honour; the following are the terms that render any one eligible.

First, The female sex is excluded.—2dly, The future Emperor must be a German by birth.—3dly, Of the higher Order of Nobility.—4thly, A Secular Prince.—5thly, A Professor of the Christian Religion; but without distinction of Sects.—6thly, And he must be of Age.

On the day previous to the Election, the whole Magistracy of Frankfort, the Burghers, and the Garrison of the City, must take an oath of fealty to the Electors; by which they acknowledge, that during the time of Election, the Electoral College is their Sovereign. The Electors also publish an edict commanding all strangers of each sex, of whatever rank or character they may be, to retire from the City,
until

until the Election shall be made. The Ambassadors of Kings, Pope's Nuncios, and Deputies from the different States and Cities of the Empire, are subjected to the Edict. This regulation is manifestly to prevent any Potentate, whose retinue is sometimes very considerable, from raising disturbances to interrupt or influence the Election. They retain however the power of obliging their particular friends and connections, to whom they give printed certificates of protection. In the evening of their departure, the gates are shut, and the keys deposited in the Palace of the Elector of Mentz. The decision being made, the gates are thrown open; strangers are re-admitted; the Deputies are re-instated in their respective honours, and are invited to assist at the Coronation. As a further precaution against tumults, no wines or fermented liquors of any kind, may be sold to the inhabitants, nor may a Jew be seen in the streets.

Early in the morning of the day appointed for the Election, all the streets are lined with foldiers, particularly those streets through which the procession is to be made. At eight o'clock, all the bells of the City announce that the Electors are proceeding from their different places of residence, to the *Römer*; to be dressed in
their

their habits of ceremony. This procession is made on horseback. The habit of the Seculars, is a long woollen mantle, of a crimson red, and faced with ermine, from the collar to the lower borders, and at the sleeves; with a round cap of the same stuff and colour: The mantle of the Spiritual Electors is of scarlet, but of the same form. Their hood, or cap is square. Thus equipped they adjourn to the Church of Saint Bartholomew, in the following order: 1st, The Purveyor of the Empire: 2d, The Lacqueys of the Electors, and qualified Deputies: 3d, Their Pages, with their Chiefs, or Master Pages: 4th, Their Notaries, Secretaries, and Councillors: 5th, The Cavalry of the Deputation: 6th, And finally, the Electors, and Deputies, who ride according to their respective ages; and the youngest Elector takes the lead, and the others follow in the correspondent order; foremost in their train, follows the Upper Court Marshall, with a sheathed sword in his hand, holding the point upwards:—The Representative of the Elector of Saxony also carries a sword in quality of Marshall of the Roman Empire.

The train is guarded on each side by the lyl or body guards of the Electors.

The Electors are received by the Bishops and other Ecclesiastics as they enter the Church,
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and are conducted to the Choir : Those of the Roman Catholick Religion, take their seats under red canopies opposite to the Altar ; and high mass is performed. When this is ended, they assemble round the Altar ; and the Elector of Mentz administers the usual oath to them. They now adjourn to the Chamber of Election, which is termed the *Conclave*. The door is shut by the Marshall of the Empire, and guarded by the Imperial Door-keeper, with a staff in his hand. This honour is always conferred upon a *Count of Werther*. In this Chamber the Elector of Mentz collects the suffrages, and then gives his own. The candidate who obtains the majority of votes is declared Emperor. Their determination is announced to the successful candidate, in due form. No candidate is permitted at this period to reside in the City. *Leopold*, with his retinue, remained several weeks at a village near to Mentz. The tidings of his Election were announced to him by the Prince of Mecklenburg, brother to the Queen of England, in person. They return to their different abodes with the same state, and in the same order as before ; and the day is closed with every publick demonstration of satisfaction and joy.

As much procrastination would be attended with enormous expences, and might prove de-

trimental to the general interest of the Empire; an early day is appointed for signing what is termed the *Capitulation*. This contains the articles proposed by the Electors, which the new Emperor swears a solemn oath to observe, and to which he affixes his signature. These articles were previously signed by the Deputy of the Emperor, as Elector of Bohemia, in the name of his master.

The day appointed for the immediate signature of the Emperor is very august. The Electors, and Deputies, with the Ambassadors from the different courts, &c. form a cavalcade to meet the new Chief of the Empire, at a considerable distance from Frankfort, and they escort him to the City, seated in a Coach of State, as grand and as rich in ornaments, as ingenuity can invent, and money purchase; attended by his own numerous retinue, and surrounded with the acclamations of thousands and ten thousands. They proceed immediately to the Conclave in Saint Bartholomew's Church; the Oaths are taken; the Articles are subscribed; and the general satisfaction is manifested by festivity, and other demonstrations of joy:—which affords me too favourable an opportunity of suspending my narrative to be omitted.

LETTER

LETTER XLV.

Frankfort.

THE Emperor himself appoints the day for his solemn coronation; which is generally an early day. The election of the present Emperor * was on Friday the 2d of October. He took the oath on Monday, and appointed the Friday following for his publick instalment. The moderns scrupulously adhere to the forms observed in ancient times; and the ancients united with every circumstance of worldly splendour they could devise, the aid of religious ceremonies, prevalent in superstitious ages. The insignia mentioned above are brought out of their repository. Their intrinsic value is enhanced by the circumstances of their being destined to the solemn ceremonies of this day alone. Some of these are deemed essential, and they give a validity to the coronation, by their being considered as figures and emblems of

* This letter was written before the death of *Leopold*.

the vast powers, with which the Sovereign of the Empire is now invested. They consist of *Imperial Insignia and Imperial Relicks.*

The Imperial Insignia are the following :

1. The Imperial Crown, of pure gold, which originally weighed about *fourteen* pounds ; but this weight being too oppressive for modern heads, it is now reduced to *eight* pounds. The summit is terminated by a ring or circle. The front is ornamented with the cross. It is divided into eight compartments, in which a large number of unpolished diamonds are ranged.

2. The Sceptre, terminating, at the upper extremity, in the form of an acorn, with six leaves ; of which three stand erect, and three incline downwards, alternately. This is of silver highly gilt ; but time and repeated use, have, towards the handle, effaced the gold.

3. The Imperial Globe ; which is a ball of gold, weighing three marks and half an ounce, and so large as to fill the grasp of a full grown man. It is divided into three compartments, by a ridge of gold, and terminates in a Cross similar to that on the Crown. This Globe was originally intended as an emblem of universal dominion ; and was, termed *signum Imperii orbis terrarum.*

4. The

4. The Sword of Charles the Great, that is Charlemagne; on which is inscribed the motto *Christus vincit, regnat, imperat*. The guard is ornamented on the one side with the figure of an Eagle, and on the other with a Lion with Two Tails.

5. The Imperial Garments. Part of these are the same formerly worn by Charlemagne. They consist of a Long Robe of Silk, richly embroidered with gold, and adorned with valuable jewels:—a Close Coat, called the *Dalmatica*, which the new Emperor wears under the apron;—a small silken dress called the *Alba*, which the Emperor throws over the mantle. It is a part of the dress used at the celebration of the mass. It is worn in consequence of the Emperor being always appointed *Canonicat*, or *Canon* of Saint Mary's Apostolick Church, at *Aix*, and as thus belonging to the clerical order:—The *Stole*, a long band several fingers in breadth, which is hung across the shoulders:—The Imperial Rings, which on this occasion are placed upon the Emperor's fingers—The Gloves and Shoes of Charlemagne.

As Charlemagne was a very large man, many parts of this dress are much too large for most of his successors; but they are adjusted as well as can be admitted, to the size of the

new Emperor, the day before. The circumstances of the day give an importance to these insignia, and enable Imperial head and shoulders to sustain—the awkward load which would be insupportable upon more common occasions.

The Imperial Relicks are—a piece of the manger in which our Saviour was laid at his birth;—a part of the chain with which the Apostles Paul and John were bound in prison;—a piece of the table cloth which was used by Christ and his disciples at the last supper;—a portion of the napkin, used by our Saviour when he washed the disciples feet;—a tooth of John the Baptist, and a bit of the garment he wore in the wilderness;—Some thorns belonging to the crown of thorns;—the iron point of the spear with which our Saviour was pierced on the cross;—a bit of the cross;—an arm of Saint *Anne*;—a dagger of Saint *Mauritius*.

All these Sacred Relicks, and the above Imperial Insignia are deposited in the Church of the Holy Ghost at Newenburg; But the four following are preserved in the Imperial City of Aix la Chapelle, viz.—the sword with which Peter cut off the ear of Malchus;—the Dagger and Girdle of the Emperor Charlemagne;—a box filled with earth impregnated with the blood of
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the Holy Martyr Steven :—The four Gospels written with Letters of Gold.

The sword of Saint Maurice is carried in the procession ; the other relics are merely exhibited to the public upon this solemn occasion.

The morning of the great and important day is ushered in, like the preceding, by the early arrangement of the military. At eight o'clock, the burghers, under arms, take their respective stations ; and all the bells in Frankfort announce the commencement of the solemnity. The three ecclesiastic electors, that is, the Electors of *Mentz, Treves, and Cologne*, dressed in the electoral robes, accompanied by numberless bishops, abbots, and other clerical brethren, and followed by a whole retinue of dependants, repair to the church of Saint Bartholomew, in order to receive the new Emperor. The secular electors, or their plenipotentiaries, the first in the electoral mantle, the last in the usual dress of men of distinction, proceed to the Römer, accompanied with their lacqueys in sumptuous liveries, and their other dependants in grand *gala* ; when they join the Emperor, and his attendants, consisting of the first personages in the German States. They now commence their cavalcade. At the instant they come out of the Römer, an hundred

pieces of cannon are discharged from the ramparts, in three rounds each; the bells ring, and trumpets are sounded from every steeple. These, together with the huzzas and shouts of the multitude, proclaim to all the surrounding districts that the grand procession is begun.

The following order is observed in the cavalcade :

1. The Provost of the Empire takes the lead, with the staff of office in his hand, attended by the Imperial pioneers; two body guards; the Purveyor of the Elector of Brunswick, with the lacqueys belonging to the deputation; the Elector of Brandenburg's Purveyor and lacqueys; those of all the secular electors, according to their rank; the livery servants of the Emperor; the Pages of the Elector of Brunswick; the Pages of the other electors; the Head Marshal of the Emperor; the Head Marshals of the ecclesiastic electors, with their staffs; the counsellors, secretaries of legation, knights, &c. belonging to the empire, and to the electoral states, on foot and uncovered; the Princes of the Empire on foot and uncovered; the Imperial trumpeters and kettle drummers on horseback; the Imperial heralds on horseback; the deputies or plenipotentiary representatives of absent electors, on horseback; the officers of
the

the empire, with their respective insignia, viz. Imperial Hereditary Caterer bearing the *globe*, placed in the centre; The Hereditary Chamberlain of the Empire, with his sceptre, at his right hand; and the Hereditary Treasurer, with the crown, on his left hand; the Hereditary Cup Bearer of the Empire, and the Imperial Head Marshal, with the drawn sword of Saint Maurice; the Emperor in his private dress, but with a crown on his head, on horseback, and under a canopy, borne by the eldest magistrate of the city, attended by the principal gentlemen of his court; his chief Equerry; Captain of the Halberdiers; Captain of the Banners; and his body guards on the right and left, on foot, and uncovered.

As the Emperor enters the church, he is received by the Elector of *Mentz*, who is to perform the ceremony of the unction, in his archiepiscopal pontificalia; but the other two in the dress of the choir. These three archbishops, accompanied by bishops, and other ecclesiastics, conduct the Emperor to a magnificent seat, and the whole train of attendants arrange themselves according to their respective stations and offices. The litany is chaunted. This being ended, the Elector of *Mentz*, with his crozier in his hand, approaches the altar, but with his face to-

wards

wards the Emperor, prays, and gives him his benediction. While he is making the sign of the cross, the chapel resounds with *Domine exaudi nos*—"We beseech thee to hear us good Lord." Some questions are now proposed to the Emperor, which he answers; and he again takes his oath to discharge the duties of his high station with fidelity and care. These ceremonies being finished, they proceed to that of anointing the new Emperor. All the requisite articles are under the superintendence of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, by virtue of his office of Arch-chamberlain of the Empire; but the ceremony is performed by the Archbishop of *Mentz*. The Arch-chamberlain having taken off the upper garments, the Archbishop of *Mentz* approaches with holy oil in his hand, saying *pax tibi*, and the chants answer *Et cum spiritu tuo*. He then anoints the elected Emperor seven times: to wit, upon the crown of his head, on the breast, on the neck, the shoulders, the arms, elbows, and palms of his hands, concluding with the benediction *Vivat Rex in Eternum*. The garments of the Emperor are so formed that these parts are easily exposed.

The solemn act of coronation is next performed. This is also the office of the Elector of *Mentz*, assisted by the two other spiritual electors,

electors. The Anointed returns to the conclave, is clothed in the abovementioned dress of Charlemagne, and again appears before the altar. The sword of the Emperor Charles is girded to his side. The ring is put upon his finger, the globe into his hand, and the crown on his head. In his solemn equipment he again takes an oath, and receives the sacrament, as a token that, great as he is, he stands in the presence of the King of Kings. Before he engages in this act of worship, the crown is taken off by the Elector of *Trèves*; is held during the ceremony by the Hereditary Treasurer of the Empire, and afterwards replaced by the Elector of *Cologne*. The Emperor being now qualified, performs the first act of sovereignty by creation of knights. The Emperor ascends an imperial throne, erected for the purpose in the church, while the chorists sing *Te Deum Laudamus*. The knights kneel before him, and he touches their shoulders with the naked sword,

They next proceed in state from the church to the Römer. The Emperor is now on foot, dressed in the garb of Charlemagne. The three ecclesiastic electors are nearest his person. They walk on a platform extended through every street they are to pass, and covered with white, yellow,

yellow, and black cloth, which is afterwards distributed amongst the crowd. The attendants follow in the order described above.

The coronation dinner is also conducted with the utmost imaginable pomp, and is attended with ceremonies peculiar to itself.

You recollect that the electors of a German Emperor were originally officers of his household, and that in consequence of their immense wealth, and united influence, from *servants* they became *masters*, monopolized the power of choosing a new Emperor, and made his election dependent on certain obligations proposed by themselves. It is easy to imagine that after they had risen to such a degree of eminence in the state, the servile offices in which they were once actually engaged, would become merely nominal. They must naturally have sunk into contempt if certain privileges and immunities had not been annexed to them; of which the exclusive right to elect an Emperor is the principal. These electors, therefore, upon such a great and solemn occasion, preserve the shadow of their employments, by virtue of which they became electors. In order also to inspire the public with the utmost awe and reverence for the personage of their new creation, they are observant of every

every ceremony that elevates him above themselves. He is *isolated* for the day. Although he dines in the public hall, described in the preceding letter, in the midst of the chiefs of the empire, and surrounded with thousands of spectators, yet he dines *alone*, and every mark of honour is directed towards himself. His table is elevated six steps above the floor. His consort, if she be present, is placed only *three steps* from the ground, and all the electors are arranged in a similar manner, according to their degrees of dignity; those who are the nearest in dignity are placed at tables nearest to his person. The remaining princes of the empire, and the deputies from the different cities, dine in an adjacent chamber.

The dinner is served up at the Emperor's table by the counts of the empire; and each of the secular electors exhibits a specimen of his former office, of which the following account may afford you some amusement.

The Elector of *Bohemia*, in quality of *Cupbearer*, mounts a horse richly caparisoned, and rides, with a silver or crystal goblet in his hand, to a certain fountain at a small distance from the Römer, which upon this occasion is made to flow with wine, white and red; fills the goblet with wine; returns, and presents it to the Emperor. This part
of

of the ceremony is, however, sometimes omitted. The remainder of the wine is given over to the disposition of the people, who crowd around with great eagerness to fill their vessels with this precious liquor, and drink health to the Emperor. The Cup-bearer receives both horse and goblet, as a present from the Emperor for his trouble.

The Elector *Palatine* next discharges his duty as *Purveyor* or *Grand Caterer* of the Emperor's household. He mounts a proud steed, richly caparisoned, and rides with four silver dishes in his hand, to a large kitchen erected upon the occasion, where a whole ox is roasted, has some slices placed upon the dishes, and returns to the dinner with them. The remainder of the ox, and all the utensils of the kitchen, are given to the populace.—The horse and plates become his own property.

The Elector of *Saxony* as Chief or Grand Marshal of the Empire, mounts his horse also, carrying a silver measure and a silver striker in his hand; rides to a large heap of oats, fills the measure, strikes it off that the quantity may not exceed, and returns with it. The horse, measure, and striker, become his own property; and the remainder of the oats is distributed amongst the multitude.

The Elector of *Brandenburg* succeeds to him as

Lord High Chamberlain. He rides forth with a silver ewer, and a napkin of the finest linen, in his hand, to a fountain, fills the ewer with water, and returns. He is also recompenced for his trouble with horse, ewer, and napkin.

The Elector of *Brunswick* as Grand Treasurer of the Empire, closes the scene, by riding amongst the people, and scattering gold and silver medals, struck up on the occasion, amongst the crowd, —The horse remains his own.

The ancient customs and phantoms of service being duly observed; the Emperor sets himself down, in good earnest, to a more substantial dinner, with no other attendants, among the chiefs of the empire, than the three ecclesiastic electors:—That is, of Mentz, as Chancellor for *Germany*; of Trier or Treves, as Chancellor for *Gallia*, or ancient Gaul; and Cologne, as Chancellor for *Italy*. Each of these has a silver staff of office in his hand, to which the chancellor's seal is suspended. This seal he takes off, and makes a tender of it to the Emperor, by whom it is immediately returned. By this form they acknowledge that the high office is a grant from the Emperor, and he manifests his good pleasure that they should continue in it. They officiate as chaplains at the table of the Emperor.

When these ceremonies are ended, the arch-
bishops,

bishops, bishops, princes, and other nobles of the empire, with the deputies from the municipal towns, and magistrates of Frankfort, place themselves at their respective tables, and partake of the entertainment.

Towards the evening, the Emperor returns in his coach of state to his palace; the royal insignia being carried before him. The scene concludes with a solemn audience granted by the new sovereign of the empire, to the electors. They ride each in his coach of state to the Imperial palace; are received at the foot of the steps of the principal entrance by the Grand Chamberlain, and Grand Marshal of the Empire, and are conducted through a suite of rooms, lined with guards, to the audience chamber. They enter uncovered, but as soon as the Emperor puts on his hat, they follow his example. Each has an audience apart, and is presented with a chair. This continues about a quarter of an hour. The elector is conducted with the same ceremony to his coach, and the next in turn succeeds to him. The Emperor afterwards returns the visit, and remains with each about the same space of time. He retires early to rest, and enjoys as much repose as his new dignity, the fatigues of the day, and hurry of spirits will admit.

While these great personages are acting so solemn a part on the public theatre, their fair consorts are amusing themselves in their retired circles. They form assemblies, according to the etiquette of which the Empress Dowager sits at the card table with the ladies of the ambassadors, and the archduchesses with the princesses of the empire. These assemblies are called *apart-ments*.

LETTER XLVI.

Frankfort.

EXCLUSIVE of the numbers that were already assembled to act their respective parts in the pageantry described in the two preceding letters, or to be spectators of the scenes, another class of strangers began to collect together, to be in readiness for the approaching *Messe*, or autumnal fair, which takes place in the month of September, and continues for the space of four weeks. Upon these occasions, the town is crowded with multitudes from distant parts of Germany, some to administer, and others to provide for the wants of the six ensuing months.

Germany is but thinly inhabited in proportion to its great extent; excepting on the borders of the Rhine, the large towns are comparatively few, and at a great distance from each other; the roads are bad, and the manner of travelling, which is mostly in tedious open waggons, more inconvenient than in any other part of Europe equally civilized. Intercommunication is therefore
greatly

greatly impeded, and in the winter months totally interrupted. To counteract these inconveniences as much as possible, spring and autumnal fairs are held at *Frankfort*, in order to supply the exigency of the southern parts of Germany, and others at *Leipfic* for the benefit of the northern. The fairs of *Leipfic* commence about a month later than those of *Frankfort*, are more amply supplied with the various articles of commerce, and are, of consequence, still more frequented. The situation of *Leipfic* is more central, as it is surrounded by a larger number of towns that look up to it for support. The inhabitants of those quarters are also destitute of the advantages enjoyed by the towns in the more southern division, which being proximate to the Rhine, have their various wants more regularly and constantly supplied. The fair at *Frankfort*, however, is very large, is amply supplied with every article of commerce, and frequented by merchants of great property, who purchase, upon these occasions, large stocks of goods, to distribute among an inferior class of tradesmen in their towns and villages.

You will, doubtless, smile when you are told that these two fairs are the grand marts for the sale of literature. I must also acquaint you that a large number of manufacturers are kept in pay, in order to multiply thoughts for the fairs.

By these indefatigable labourers several thousands of volumes, of all sorts and sizes, are annually made up for sale. The pay is generally by measure, rather than by weight, as lawyers are paid with you, simply by lines and letters, whatever these may express. However, the prices depend in many instances upon the nature of the work, or the degree of reputation the manufacturer may have acquired. Translations are of the lower order, and will not, as I am informed, fetch more than two rix dollars, or two and a half per sheet. The next are small abridgments of large works.—Then follows the opposite employment, making a large compilation from a number of smaller publications. Sermons used formerly to furnish a small retail trade; but these, with treatises on theology according to the orthodox system, are much upon the decline. Heresy is risen nearly at par. Philosophical dissertations are also upon the decline; but they still bear a decent market price. General histories are quite a drug. Plays and romances increase in numbers and value; and of late the authors of political disquisitions have considerably raised their price.

You are not to imagine that a poor author will venture to trade upon his own foundation. He cannot wait so many months for his money; nor dares he to expose himself to the rise and fall

fall of the market. Most of them are engaged and paid by their principals, who take the whole risk upon themselves. An editor of note generally sends a waggon load of science twice a year either to *Frankfort* or *Leipsic*, folded as the sheets came from the pres. These are purchased by lesser booksellers, and distributed over the country by a third class of retail vendors.

The annual publications at the two fairs amount to upwards of five thousand volumes; and the number of authors is computed to be about the same. This is not improbable, for if your writers of abridgments can turn off three volumes per annum, a grave compiler will, on the contrary, labour three years at a single volume. A professed writer of romances may work up about two in *one* year; but then your philosophic and metaphysical writers will not be able to digest their systems in less than *three* or *four* years. Thus, by nicely adjusting and balancing accounts, we may allow that, *cæteris paribus*, every man may supply the community with his volume per annum.

As a proof of the zeal and assiduity with which the Germans apply to the subject of literature, I shall transmit to you the following particulars relative to the conducting of the pe-

riodical work, entitled *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, or Journal of General Literature, published at *Jena*. In the year 1790, the number of writers employed in that work, including those who died within the year, amounted to not less than three hundred and nine. Of these, one hundred and seventeen were professors in the Germanic and foreign universities; ninety-six in higher or inferior offices in church and state; thirteen clergymen; seven librarians of Princes, Counts, &c. sixteen physicians; four doctors of music; seven who have no professional character. The books reviewed in that work amounted to one thousand eight hundred and five.—Of these, one thousand three hundred and ninety-seven were written by Germans; four hundred and eight were foreign productions; one hundred and seventy-three were published by fellow labourers. The corresponding members of this literary fraternity in different parts of Europe are one hundred and thirteen in number.

The Review published at *Jena* is the principal, but not the only one. There are several others by no means deficient in merit. Its chief rival is the *Göttingische anzeigen von gelehrten sachen*, i. e. Göttingen's Tidings of learned Publications. These are published in numbers, three or four times in the week, so as to form about two hundred
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and ten numbers in a year. This literary journal is upon a smaller scale than the other. Not more than six hundred, or six hundred and fifty books are reviewed in it annually, but it is well conducted.

I have lately seen proposals for a new Journal, under the title of *Annalen des Geographischen und Statistischen Wissenschaften*, i. e. Annals of Geographical and Statistical Science. It is under the direction of Professor Zimmermann of Brunswick. According to the plan of this work, its chief object will relate to geographical, political, and statistical disquisitions; but a review of new publications in the German and foreign languages will not be omitted. A number of the literati are already engaged for the undertaking. It is to come out in monthly numbers of six sheets each; six numbers are to constitute a volume. New maps will be occasionally added. The price is three dollars and a half per volume.

I have not heard what degree of encouragement this undertaking has received. Notwithstanding the Professor's known abilities in this department, I question whether the subjects will be sufficiently popular for a periodical publication. If it be continued for years, as is the design, I fear that the reader will be obliged to crawl like a snail over the face of the globe, and feel himself wearied before he gets half-way.

To the above may be added the following account of publications exposed to sale at Leipzig in the course of the years 1790 and 1791. Their number at the autumnal fair 1790, was not more than one thousand and fifty-five: of these sixty-five were musical compositions, and forty-two translations from foreign languages, particularly from the English. But at the fair held in the spring, the number was more than double, being two thousand, three hundred and forty-eight. In the year 1791, the publications amounted to three thousand five hundred and four, exclusive of school books, smaller pamphlets, and some works that were published at the expence of their authors. It is observable, says my author, that works of imagination, and political disquisitions, which were formerly the most scarce, are now become the most popular species of writing.

It was once my design to give you some general account of German literature, and no opportunity could be more favourable than the present. I had even collected some few materials for the purpose. But since my escape from the printing press at Mentz, I have taken a firm resolution not to venture again upon a long and tedious disquisition upon any subject whatever, and I foresee that this must infallibly have been the case were I to have executed my purpose.

Germany has always been renowned for learned and elaborate writers in the different branches of the abstruser sciences. Since their emancipation from the Latin language, and the free enjoyment of their native tongue, the Germans have greatly distinguished themselves in every department of the *Belles Lettres*. They have many excellent poets, and they are now attempting, with great success, both romance and the drama. It is not a little flattering to England, that your literature is much preferred among them to that of the French. Indeed I have frequently remarked a striking resemblance between the genius of the two nations, through the whole range of genius from metaphysics to song making, and this naturally induces them to prefer models most correspondent with their own taste and talents. In many instances, it is not difficult to trace in their writings the English authors which the Germans have consulted; and in some you may detect rather more than imitation. Confiding in the ignorance of the generality of their readers in the English language, they sometimes borrow more literally and more copiously than they would have ventured, were our language more familiar among the inhabitants. One of their most celebrated poets, *Wieland*, in his *Oberon*, has engrafted the January and
May

May of Pope, into one of his cantos, without any design of its appearing in the light of a translation. In my course along the Rhine, which I shall describe to you hereafter, I happened to take up a young lady's prayer book, which I was happy to find her travelling companion; and I discovered that the first prayer was a prose translation of Pope's Universal Prayer; and the second was chiefly composed from passages taken out of Young's Night Thoughts, but without acknowledgement. The compilation had a yet greater singularity, it was made by one King (Koenig) a player upon the theatre at Mentz, whose life it is said corresponds with his professions of piety. I could produce other instances of a similar nature, but I am persuaded that you will be better amused by the following anecdote. While it affords entertainment as a curious fact, it will prove that a spirit of imitation extends itself to the most singular and eccentric departments. With what success the attempt has been made in the instance I shall lay before you, I shall leave you to determine.

Lessing, the famous poet and miscellaneous writer, was at *Hamburg* in the year 1769, where he formed an intimacy with the Rev. Mr. G***, a very bigotted clergyman. This intimacy displeased his friends and surprised every one; but he

he vindicated himself by alledging that G*** was a man of literature. Among the friends of Lessing that were scandalized at this union was one Mr. A**, a clergyman of a very opposite description. Mr. G*** was for retaining all customs, which he deemed sanctioned by antiquity: Mr. A** was for making those changes which the change of sentiments, and of manners, seemed to require. Lessing, although most liberal in his private opinions, and in the tenour of his writings, was a declared enemy to *innovations*. He attempted to disseminate what are termed *liberal* sentiments; but he was a strenuous advocate for the *profession* of old established creeds. Another feature in this popular man's character was, that he was much disposed to maintain the weaker side of a question, merely from the love of disputation, that he might exercise his own wit, and to call forth the powers of others.

While Lessing was at Hamburg, a general fast was appointed by authority. It appears that the manner of keeping a public fast was pretty much the same at Hamburg as in most other places. The people, in the midst of their professed humiliations, were accustomed to encrease their guilt by the rancorous spirit they manifested against their public enemies. They hoped
by

by the mere confession of their crimes to incline the Universal Parent to exterminate their particular antagonists, and vainly attempted to obtain personal commiseration by covering themselves with sackcloth and ashes, and thus divert the wrath of heaven towards their adversaries. It was customary, upon these occasions, to make use of a commination prayer, taken from the 6th verse of the 79th psalm. Mr. A **, with another clergyman, thought themselves obliged in conscience, to discontinue the use of this prayer; Mr. G ***, on the other hand, found it a snug method of releasing malevolent nature, and thought that no swearing was to be compared to a truly pious consecrated curse; and he made no small commotion at this wicked omission of his brethren. Mr. A ** was greatly incensed at *his* being incensed. In short, words rose so high, and became so turbulent, between these ministers of peace, that Mr. G ***, although he had the populace on his side, yet as he had made the most noise, was enjoined silence by synodical authority. Lessing was not a friend in his disposition or sentiments, either to the cause or bigotted zeal of G***; but he was strongly solicited by the partizans of that gentleman to become his champion. Thus influenced, united with the pleasure he enjoyed in supporting the weaker

weaker side, he undertook to defend this execrating prayer, and he boldly maintained that a due attention to necessary distinctions, and particular circumstances, not only permitted, but demanded, that we should pray against our enemies. A * * denied the proposition, and asserted that a prayer of so dark a complexion, was inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, which enjoins *love* to our enemies. Lessing answered, we will love our enemies, and yet imprecate the vengeance of God upon those who deserve his anger. A * * asserted, these were incompatible, and defied Lessing to produce an instance that could reconcile such glaring contrarieties.

In the space of a few days Lessing composed a sermon from the two texts Psalm lxxix. 6, and Mat. xii, 39; but to give a greater force to his argument, he pretended that it was one of *Norrick's* sermons, translated from the English. This sermon was never published; half a dozen copies of it alone were circulated among his friends, to the alarm and terror of Mr. A * *, who begged that it might be suppressed, dreading the pernicious influence it might have in the debate. Mr. *Ebert*, who communicated this anecdote to Nicolai, the compiler of the Berlin Literary Gazette, from whence it is extracted, had read the sermon in question, and related to Nicolai

colai the following particulars concerning it. "This sermon was a short but a masterly performance. Yorick's manner was perfectly well imitated. Similar simplicity, penetration, philanthropy, were united with similar wit and vivacity. I do not recollect any passages in the sermon itself so completely as to do them justice, but a part of the introduction made too deep an impression to be effaced from my memory. It represents an incident which is supposed to have given rise to the discourse. The incident was as follows :

"Uncle Toby took a walk with his trusty Corporal Trim. They met on the road an emaciated Frenchman, in a tattered uniform, halting upon a crutch, as he had lost a leg. He took off his hat with down cast eyes, without uttering a syllable ; but his dejected countenance was truly eloquent. The Major gave him some shillings without attending to their number. Trim took a penny out of his pocket, but called him, as he gave it, a *French dog*. The Major continued silent a few seconds, and then turning to Trim, he said, Trim, he is a man and not a *dog*. The French invalid was hopping behind them. Upon this speech of the Major, Trim gave him another penny, and again added *French dog*. This man, Trim, is a *soldier* !

Trim

Trim looked at him stedfastly, gave him another penny, and repeated *French dog*. And Trim, he has been a *brave* soldier, he has fought for his country, and has been desperately wounded. Trim pressed his hand, while he gave him a fourth penny, but repeated *French dog*. And Trim, this soldier is a worthy though unfortunate husband, who has a wife and four small children to maintain. Trim, with tears in his eyes, gave all that he had in his pocket, but still called him *French dog*, though in a softer tone. When the Major returned home, he mentioned the affair to Yorick. Yorick answered, it is plain that Trim hates, with all his heart, the whole French nation, as being an enemy to his country, but he loves every individual in it that deserves respect.

LETTER XLVII.

Mentz.

FAREWELL, a long farewell to all our greatness! The third day of our sojourning at Frankfort, we sent for a vamer and dealer in second-hand carriages, and treated with him about our post chariot. It was disposed of much to our loss, but we doubt not much to his gain; therefore by placing satisfaction opposite to dissatisfaction, the balance upon the whole may have been nearly equal, which ought to content a philosophic mind. Nay, I please myself with the idea that the quantum of good was upon the whole considerably augmented by the bargain. I am convinced that the purchaser was much more contented than we were discontented. Supposing the proportion to have been simply as three to one, two points of enjoyment were fairly gained. He informed us also,—after he had paid the purchase money,—that his plan was to exchange the heavy travelling wheels for a lighter set, brush up the vehicle, and sell it to some German

German Baron to join in a future cavalcade. He added that the plan could scarcely fail, as ours was much superior in elegance to most of the German carriages : The satisfaction enjoyed by the Baron, in contemplating his purchase at a convenient price, and anticipating the conspicuous figure he should be able to make at the grand period of rival exhibition, ought also to be taken into the account. We may safely add to these, the satisfaction we felt in the prospect of having so respectable a successor ; and the pleasures arising to a benevolent mind, in being the cause of so much satisfaction to others. These things being duly considered, will fully demonstrate that we were upon the whole considerable gainers, although our chapman obstinately beat us down to less than half of its value. Behold us therefore returning to Mentz in an humble chaise, that had been hired so often, and used so ill, that every journey might be suspected of being its last.

As we were passing over the bridge at Mentz, about three o'clock in the afternoon of a bright and chearful day, we were accosted by several boatmen, who enquired whether we intended to descend the Rhine ; and each of them eagerly offered his service, praising his own careful

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and *obliging* disposition, and answering for the conveniences and safety of his boat.

We struck a bargain with one of them, whose physiognomy pleased us the most, drove to our inn, took a hasty dinner, packed up the goods we had left behind, and returned to the water-side about six o'clock in the evening, according to our agreement with the boatman.

A great number of boats are employed upon the Rhine merely to accommodate passengers. These are of various sizes, according to the number of passengers to be accommodated. Those most commonly in use have an oblong cabin built in the centre, that will contain ten or twelve persons very commodiously; between this and the helm are benches, with a canvas stretched upon hoops by way of canopy, which forms a second apartment for a lower class of passengers. The boatman is attended with one or two servants.

The price is, just as you can make your agreement. If you appear totally ignorant, they will demand enormously. Strangers are sometimes made to pay eight or ten rixdollars, where a person accustomed to the passage may escape for three or four. Being apprized of this circumstance we behaved accordingly, and hired our boat for thirteen shillings English, giving the
man

man however permission to take in two or three other passengers that wished to go with him. We afterwards found that he had made a similar bargain with two other parties ; so that the boat was in appearance three times primarily engaged, and the three parties were admitted upon sufferance. Fortunately we harmonized so well with our companions, that we all expressed our gratitude to the boatman, for the sly trick he had played us.

I am at a loss my good Sir in what manner I shall attempt to give you an idea of this most agreeable and romantick passage ; every stage of which is crowded with both delightful and interesting objects.

I have already hinted to you that several volumes in quarto have been published upon the antiquities of the Rhine. In these, a circumstantial account is given of the building of almost every castle, and the endowment of almost every monastery, together with the incidents which have distinguished many of them, through a series of turbulent ages. The rich materials are worthy the attention of both the antiquarian and the historian, but you may easily imagine that my limited plan can embrace but few of them. Nay, were I to confine myself simply

to the office of a painter, and attempt a delineation of the scenes which struck us as beauties, I should write volumes instead of a few hasty epistles. A minute examination of detached pieces, would also destroy the effect which ought to be derived from the grandeur of the whole. But how can I convey to you any ideas of the whole, without descending to the particulars which compose it ? The passage by water from Mentz to Bonn, is more than eighty miles ; and the eye is occupied incessantly with the quick succession of striking scenes. Perhaps there is not in any part of Europe an uninterrupted navigation for so great a space, through so many picturesque scenes ! At first the enchanting views might inspire both sentiment and expressions to engage and amuse. But the mind cannot be in one continued strain of rapture, for the space of two of the longest days in summer, or be upon the stretch of continued description for the distance of eighty or ninety miles. The feelings must subside into a general satisfaction and hilarity ; and if they did not, varied terms would be wanting to describe those diversities which kept our attention awake. After all it will be impossible to convey to you by mere description the impressions in any degree equal to those the real objects made upon our minds. Descriptions,

tions, the most accurate, of distant scenes, seldom or never convey ideas that are adequate. They may set your fancy at work, and enable you to create scenes for your own amusement, but these will bear a confused and imperfect resemblance to the original. The best I can do is to pursue the plan adopted upon a former occasion, furnish you with materials, and leave you to arrange them as imagination may direct.

First then, take my favourite river, place upon it vessels of different sizes swimming with the stream or drawn by horses in an opposite direction. Give this stream various windings and different breadths; but never contract it to the prejudice of its grandeur. Let it now run with rapidity, through the increase of its waters from minor *rivers* that are proud to seek an union and coalesce with a superior; or from hasty showers that bring numerous rivulets from the mountains; or let it seem to hasten through the narrow defiles which bold presumptuous rocks have made, as with a design to oppose its passage. Now let it spread its waters into a wide and placid sheet, as if reposing after the fatigues of precipitate motion. You may occasionally vary the surface of the Rhine by dividing its stream with islands; and these you may form of a pro-

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jecting

jecting barren rock, or cover with herbage and adorn with trees. In some places let the meanderings of rivers be seen, for a considerable extent, and in others they may soon be lost among the rocks. Where the bed of the river is the most expanded, and the view of its current is most extensive, you will render the plains on each side as riant and fertile as possible; or to vary the scene raise up craggy rocks on one side of the river, and oppose to them an open well cultivated plain on the other side. You will be sometimes authorized to lose the mighty stream by its sudden winding round a precipice, or you may close it up to appearance by a counter-range of opposite mountains. But then I prithee proportionally to deepen its channel, that it may flow with sullen and solemn dignity, between the perpendicular rocks, that threaten his imprisonment.

To the chain of hills and rocks that are placed along the borders of the Rhine, almost uninterruptedly from Mentz to Coblentz, and from Andernach to Bonn, you may give as different shapes and figures, heights and degrees of inclination, as you please. You may delineate some as presenting their broad surfaces for the culture of grain, or kindly forming a lap for the kitchen-garden of the cottager;—some as actually

ally smiling with the approaching harvest ;—over others, encouraged by the hope of future abundance, the ploughman plods his weary way, and drives the slow-paced oxen along the stony surface. But you will cloath the majority of them with mantling vines, from which the clustering grapes are pendant and promise luxurious plenty ;—some spurning at culture,—others adorned with wood and forests of Nature's planting.—Be not sparing of villages, which you will place on the borders of the river ; and when most poor make them still look contented and happy.

Place at a proper distance larger towns. Let their spires by their elevation exult over inferior buildings, but manifest the vast superiority of the mountains, they vainly attempt to emulate. Protect or terrify these towns with castles of various forms and sizes, built upon the bold contiguous rocks. Spread a sacred solemnity over your landscape, by the interspersion of monasteries and convents :—excite the ideas of decayed grandeur and decayed piety, by the multitudes of them that are fallen into ruins.—Some of these ruins you will allow to exhibit specimens of their pristine strength, or amazing size ;—in others you will leave a solitary turret, mantled with ivy, and let the day, shining

through the windows and the portal, manifest that time has nearly completed his work.

You may look up from your boat, as you are swimming with the current, and contemplate the husbandman pruning his vines at an immense height above you. You will calm your fears concerning his safety, by discovering walls of rugged stones, arranged at different stages of the steep ascent, to stop the falling earth, that it may be converted into kindly mold. Others you will behold, collecting slate and tuff for the use of distant countries, others digging the silver ore, or precious minerals, from the sides of the mountains.

You may vary these scenes still farther by having respect to the weather or time of the day. You may gild the mountain tops with the rays of the evening or the morning, and throw a deep shade into the vale beneath, making it extend across the stream. You may suspend the misty cloud over the brow of the hill, and let it nearly conceal the castle on its summit; and then order the sun, as he advances, to disperse it. He will sometimes furl it up in dusky ringlets, and give it to the wind, to convey it behind the mountains. You may command the sudden showers to send thousands of rivulets, and swell the principal current,—hide the face
of

of Heaven by spreading a dark cloud from hill to hill across the river,—make lightning dart from one pile of ruins to another, and the thunders bellow between the rocks. But remember that you purify the air, renew the verdure of the woods, and not only refresh the vineyards of the rich, but the humble garden of the cottager. As you pass by the villages in the calmness of the evening, you may listen to the songs of contentment echoing among the rocks, or the bell solemnly tolling to vespers, that the day, whose every hour has been marked with blessings, may be closed with effusions of gratitude !

If you are late on the water, call up the full moon. Let her first appear as if she was angry at being disturbed, then returning to her placid nature, let her spread a sheet of mildest light on the surface of the water. This you may occasionally shiver into myriads of spangles, according to the course of a current or direction of a breeze. Tip the owl-inhabited turret with an oblique glance of her silver ray, represent some of the adjacent vessels in a beautiful *claro obscuro*, and depict others in *sombre silhouette* !

But it is time to close the poetic part of my description, which the nature of my subject so peremptorily demanded that I was obliged to submit.

submit. Thank my stars I got through much better than could have been expected ! For the future I shall content myself with plain prosaic narrative, without deeming myself under any obligation to make use of the least colouring. Yet should some pretty little imagery, or sudden stroke of the sublime accidentally present themselves, I will not send them away, though I promise you that I shall not search after them.

The impossibility of dwelling upon every article that amused us, has been already proved ; passing over therefore the majority in silence, I shall only touch upon those which were the most striking for their appearance or their history.

To compensate for this superficial account, and to demonstrate to you the multitude of objects which invited our attention, I have copied a map of our tour for your inspection ; and in the place of repeated descriptions, which cannot convey *the* idea, I have called in the mechanic aid of draughts and sketches of those places which appeared most worthy of notice, taken from that point of view in which they appeared the most striking. By these joint aids I hope you will accompany us with pleasure and satisfaction, at the same time that they will save your humble servant a world of trouble.

But

But let me introduce to your acquaintance the companions of our excursion, whom the boatman had so artfully and so kindly imposed upon us. The one party consisted of Professor S.—, of Brunswick, with his Lady : the other of Dr. D—l a young Physician of Mentz, newly married, with his young and happy comfort. The Professor had been a tour during the vacancy for his health, and intended, after visiting Cologne, to try the water at Aix-la-Chapelle. His indisposition had not sowered his temper ; nor had his professional character made him a pedant. Vivacity to a pleasing degree of frolicsomeness, were united with the man of understanding and liberal philosopher. His Lady, although somewhat silent and reserved, manifested a friendly temper, and indicated in a thousand little instances, the warmest attachment to her husband. Our young Doctor was a man of modest sense. His reserve for some time, obliged us to *dig* for wisdom, but we found it. His Lady, without being handsome, had a most pleasing physiognomy, young, lively, thoughtless, perfectly contented with the yoke of hymen ; talking, laughing and singing, with a gaiety which manifested that she felt no chains in the new connection, and that through the long vista of many years, which she promised herself,

herself, she could spy nothing but scenes of contentment and happiness ! They were going to visit some relations at Cologne : Her prayer-book and a large quantity of music, indicated how she proposed to divide her time. During this little excursion, the prayer-book assisted her matins and her vespers ; and her melodious voice amused and delighted us at every pertinent interval !

LETTER

LETTER XLVIII.

From Mentz to Johannisberg.

WE all committed ourselves to the care of our boatman, and he committed his barge to the current about half past six o'clock. The evening was serene, and our new acquaintances promised, by their engaging manners, to be agreeable companions. The different objects which I have before enumerated, or more particularly described, united their efforts to form one landscape, by encircling the horizon with beauties, whose charms seemed to be improving as the stream was bearing us from them. The city of Mentz, whose distant appearance has already been noticed and admired ;—the bridge, enlivened with many of the genteeler inhabitants taking their evening walks ;—the adjacent village of Cassel ;—the hills of Hockheim, and other mountains beyond them ;—the pleasant island crowned with poplars and willows immediately before us ;—the village of Ingelheim and of Berberick, with its sumptuous mansion ;—of Schierstein

stein on our right hand ;—an open champain country diversified with vineyards on our left, seemed to have entered into a conspiracy to make us regret our departure. They in part succeeded, and would have been much more successful, if new beauties had not presented themselves to attract our attention, and engage our affections.

The whole course of the river from Mentz to Elfold, where we slept, is very picturesque ; the eye is perpetually amused with a great diversity of objects :—pleasant villages, and towns of some respectability ;—corn-fields, vineyards, and orchards ;—castles and religious houses ;—country-seats and cottages, were intermixed in pleasing confusion ; and the broader surface of the Rhine was beautified with islands of different sizes. However, as we advanced, we perceived that the richness of prospect was mostly on the eastern borders of the Rhine ; many parts of the opposite shore were flat, sandy, and barren.

When I mention these disadvantages, you will be surprised to hear that the village of Nieder-Ingelheim, *i. e.* Lower Ingelheim, was the favorite residence of the Great Charlemagne. He might, perhaps, have been influenced by local advantages of a political nature, or allured by the beautiful and extensive prospect it commands

over

over a richer country. Antiquarians inform us that he built upon this spot a sumptuous palace; that it was ornamented with an hundred columns of Italian marble, and that the access to the different apartments was by numerous and intricate passages.

It was here that consistories and counsels were held upon affairs of church and state; that Louis the Debonnaire, or rather the Weak and Superstitious, died of chagrin, occasioned by the rebellion of his sons, Lotharius and Louis; and that Henry the Fourth, after having been victorious in a great majority of the sixty-two battles he had fought, saw himself deprived of his crown by the treachery of his son, Henry the Fifth.

At Nieder Wallauf, the country assumes a bolder aspect, particularly on the eastern shore. The mountains arrange themselves by the side of the Rhine, that bends his course towards the west; Ceres and Pomona yield the territory up to Bacchus. At this place commences the *Rbinger*, which signifies properly the district of the Rhine; this extends as far as Lorrich. The soil is chiefly devoted to the cultivation of the vine. The country on the eastern side of the hills is covered with an immense forest, termed *Landes-wald*, or the Land's-forest, that extends nearly as far as *Kaub*. It was by the side of this forest

forest that we rode, upon leaving Schwalbach, as mentioned in a former letter. The territories of Nassau Ufingen, terminate here. A rampart and ditch guard the passage from any enemy that should attempt to ascend the Rhine; and they are said to have proved a powerful defence against the forces of Gustavus Adolphus, in the thirty years war.

It was approaching to midnight when we arrived at Elfeld, which is considered as the principal town in the Rhingan: A treaty between Charles the Fourth and his rival Gunther, Count of Schwartzenberg, was signed here; although Gunther was afterwards poisoned by Charles, that he might secure the Empire entirely to himself. Elfeld is placed between the river and the adjacent mountains, has some good houses and some *boffs*, or castles; its five-spired steeple is much admired, but the object to us the most striking, was the large inn, close to the river.

But alas, not expecting company at so late an hour, the whole household was sunk in the arms of sleep, excepting the careful hostess and her most trusty damsel; these were adjusting the disordered kitchen, &c. and extinguishing fire and light.

The hostess, prompted by that civility which a regard to self-interest might at first have inspired,
and

and habit had rendered familiar, ordered her servant to throw faggots upon the glowing embers in the kitchen, and to prepare lights for the parlour :—A sudden blaze discovered to us three or four weary travellers lying on the ground, who had escaped our notice by the glimmering of a lamp. The parlour was occupied in a similar manner. Perceiving how much was to be done before a supper of any kind would possibly make its appearance, we would not consent that any one should be disturbed on our account, we assuring our hostess, that we rather wished to imitate their example than wait for the most splendid repast. Fortunately for us, it was simply the quality of the guests that occasioned them to have such humble lodgings, and the principal chambers were unoccupied.

Perhaps our landlady was more disappointed at our going supperless to bed than ourselves; for, to provide against contingencies, we had made a provision of cold chickens, tongues, &c. with a few bottles of Rhenish wine; and, perceiving that we should arrive late at Elfeld, we regaled ourselves in the boat. Thus circumstanced, it was no difficult task for appetite to yield to the drowsy petition of our eyelids, under the promise and expectancy, however, of

enjoying a breakfast in the morning with double pleasure.

Early in the morning we were summoned by our boat-man, and admonished to hold ourselves in readiness, with a hint, that if we did not depart by six o'clock, we should arrive late at Coblenz also. Well-flavoured coffee, excellent butter, rolls, and rich cream, worthy the eulogiums of old Bunce, were prepared for us in an upper apartment. This apartment commanded a view of the river, and enabled us to take a partial retrospect of the country we had passed, and anticipate that we were to reconnoitre.

Our countenances were fresh as the morning. Delicious sleep, and a quickened appetite, had recompensed the temperance of the preceding evening. The professor's lady did the honours of the coffee-table, the physician's brisk wife hummed a tune in the contentment and gaiety of her heart, and the professor began to be jocular. In short, we could safely adopt the favorite expression of Homer, in describing the banquet of the gods :—

ὅτε τὶ θυμὸς ἀνέσθιο σίῃσι.

Nor was will wanting to such sweet repast.

I know not whether you have paid due attention to the usual progress of intimacy; according

ording to my calculation, it consists of five stages at least, and sometimes of *six*.

The *first* is merely introductory. It commences with the most minute and ceremonious attention to punctilios, offering the best situation, particularly to the ladies, expressing the utmost concern for their safety and accommodations, &c. These points being settled,—the weather, the beauty of the prospect, naturally succeed, or any other common topic suggested by the peculiarity of our situation. This stage is closed with some general account of the incidents which brought us together.

In the *second* stage, we continue to be most scrupulously complaisant, the very models of politeness and urbanity; but we mutually aim to impress each other with a favourable opinion of ourselves; we bring forward the choicest sentiments and observations opportunity can possibly furnish, which we propose possibly with inward confidence, and *certainly* with outward *diffidence* and submission to superior judgement. We pay many compliments to the depth of every observation made by our new companions, more particularly if we think ourselves obliged to contradict it, or discover its shallows. If we have any tincture of learning, we are not backward to display

display it; otherways, we content ourselves with politics, foreign affairs, commerce, &c.

This full dress of the mind soon grows irksome; we change it as soon as decency permits, 3dly, For a kind of half-trimmed suit, which more nearly resembles our natural characters in their best moods. The choicest selections of interesting stories, anecdotes, and bon mots, furnish out the treat; and the classic or politician, give way to the amusing or interesting companion.

The fourth stage of intimacy approaches nearer to the confidence of private friendship; we descend into personal or domestic history, relate some strokes of peculiar misfortune, descant upon the ingratitude of those whom we have benefited, or the ill-treatment of relatives; or expatiate upon the spirit with which their conduct was resented, or the patience with which it was borne.

Having thus, with assiduity and address, made a lodgement in each others good opinion, and established our characters as instructive and entertaining companions, we make

The fifth stage a kind of landing-place, where we sit down to enjoy the character at our ease. The mind now returns to its beloved indolence. An instinctive attachment constitutes the principal pleasure of our intercourse. We are con-

tented if some trivial observation now and then calls into exercise the faculty of speech ; and we think we have been in excellent spirits, if we pass two or three familiar jokes in as many hours. This stage will occasionally permit us to ridicule any little foibles, or singularities, of our associates, with good nature and address.

The sixth and last stage certainly exists, but fortunately it does not take place among truly polished minds. In others, it claims privileges of indulgence, at the *expense* of our friend, now we think ourselves secure in his attachment. We are now so perfectly emancipated from the shackles of ceremony, that we venture to grow a little pettish about trifles. This stage will also allow us to commit great offences with little compunction, if the party are in any respect our dependants, and to resent slight ones with becoming warmth. The closeness of our connection is manifested by contradicting each other without reserve, or by censuring lesser faults with the utmost severity, taking due care that the freedom of our language shall be proportionate to the degrees of intimacy. We retain, indeed, just ideas of the rules of friendship ; but all our generous anxiety is, least our associates should not observe them.

Although

Although I have classed these different stages of friendship with the same precision as systematic physicians class fevers, yet, like fevers, they frequently run into one another, so that the different types will not always be perfectly distinct, or pass through their characteristic periods in a similar time, or precisely in a similar manner. Here also difference of temperaments, occasional causes, &c. will have their influence.

Our party got through the ceremonious and learned stages of friendship, the preceding evening, and a few glasses extraordinary of generous Rhenish were bringing us forward to the *third*, to which the lateness of the day and a precipitate retreat to our rooms, gave a suspension; but the refreshment of sleep, comforts of the table, and the prospect of spending several happy hours together, made us enter into this stage with great alacrity. It lasted us the whole of that day, and till the next morning about ten o'clock, when we began to enter into the *fourth* stage, which, however, was of short duration. We entered into the fifth stage after we had passed Andernach in our way to Bonn; I believe it was greatly accelerated by the regret we felt at our approaching separation.

About six o'clock we were again called by our boatman; but, as he was obliged to cross
the

the river to pay a toll at Rhingan, and then return to take advantage of the current, towards the eastern side, we unanimously preferred a walk. My companion taking the professor's lady under his protection, and the fair songstress leaning upon my arm, we skipped along like the roes among the hills, observing and pointing out to each other, new beauties every instant. Among these, the Volla Troisse hoff, and Reichershoff, might be specified, if time and patience would permit me to descend into particulars; and also the rivulet *Er*, which gives the name of Erbach, or Erstream, to the contiguous village. At a small distance from this village, is an abbey belonging to the Cisterian monks. It manifests its love for retirement, by being half-secreted in a wood. It manifests a remaining desire to see and to be seen, by opening a view to the Rhine, through the long vista of some walnut-trees. It is said, that this abbey is richly endowed; but that its chief riches consists in its vineyards, by which those interested charitably endeavour to make *that* world joyous, which they are determined to forsake. The abbey was founded by Adelbert, the first Bishop of Mentz, in the year eleven hundred. Its chapel is said to be very elegant, and to be adorned with monuments and inscriptions, by which the Count and Countess

of Nassau and Kutzenelenbogen, successively attempt to convince the world of the vanity of those riches and titles they once possessed.

We passed the village of Hattenheim, whose vineyards yield too precious a wine to be passed by in total forgetfulness. This wine is called Markenbrunzer, out of mere compliment to a spring of water that arises near the village.

At this place we took to our boat, and the engaging scenes we had been contemplating, gave way to a more gloomy spectacle. The bed of the river was contracted by approaching rocks, as if they were determined to obliterate its channel and annihilate its existence. Their lofty perpendicular cliffs both excluded the day and bid defiance to culture. Vegetation could only peep and smile through their fissures. A few houses of humble fishermen, and a miserable village, proved their want of the neighbouring corn, and wine, to make their hearts glad. This scene continued about four or five miles. While *before* us, it inspired us with solemnity not unpleasant; when *passed*, the contrast spread a more vivid colouring over gayer scenes, and sharpened the relish for returning beauties, which perpetuity would have obtunded.

From

From *Oesterich*, the hills courteously reside at some little distance from the banks of the river, and leave place for a fertile meadow, which, of consequence, must be enamelled with flowers, and, in this meadow, the pleasant villages of *Mittelheim* and *Winkel* have wisely placed themselves, smiling at their opposite neighbours, *Winheim*, and a Carthusian monastery, who cordially returned the smile.

Here we again quitted our barge, and ascended a gentle terrace, formed by the amicable union of nature and art, every step of our ascent presenting a new and more extensive horizon, crowded with scenery, until our wearied steps brought us to the priory of *Johannisberg*; where, with your leave, we will repose ourselves till the next letter.

LETTER.

LETTER XLIX.

From Johannisberg to Bacherach.

THE priory of Johannisberg has experienced almost all the caprices of fickle fortune, since the year 1102, the time in which it was founded by Ruthard, the second Archbishop of Mentz. Richard Count of Rhingan richly endowed it: Archbishop Adelbert converted it into an abbey. In the sixteenth century it was greatly injured by Albert of Brandenburg; and in the Swedish wars, which have left such horrid marks of devastation in various parts of Germany, it was totally demolished. The land was mortgaged by Archbishop Anselm Casimir to Hubert van Bleiman, Treasurer of the Empire; and afterwards sold to the Abbot of Fuld, who again converted it into a priory, and rebuilt the palace in a noble stile, and modern taste.

The situation of Johannisberg is peculiarly beautiful. It commands an infinitude of objects, some of which form a striking contrast to each other.

other. Numberless villages, hamlets and stately mansions, interspersed, describe an extensive semi-circle; part of which is terminated by distant forests losing themselves in the horizon, and part by lofty hills covered with vineyards. The priory looks down with a supercilious glance on the village adjacent to the river, at the foot of the hill, and clinging to its side, where it contemplates nunneries, and castles mingled with the croud of dwellings that court its protection. Thus situated, it must be more than human if it does not feel a glow of ghostly pride. When the holy proprietor and his select friends have enjoyed this enchanting prospect, they have it still in their power to contemplate one perhaps still more pleasing; simply by descending into an immense cave or cellar, filled with thousands of hogsheads of the choicest wines.

The red grape is cultivated in some of the vineyards in the district of Johannisberg, yielding a wine called Rhenish Blecker. This wine is preferred by some to the secondary kind of Rhenish. Peculiarities of taste are often *non-descripts*, but the best idea I can convey to you of the flavour of the blecker, is by comparing it to old hock dashed with claret. The inferior sort is a light and cheap wine; but the vineyards of Johannisberg yield a superior kind
alone,

alone, which is very highly esteemed, and by no means cheap at the source. We entered an inn adjacent to the palace, and putting a bottle to the test, we found that it deserved the high encomiums bestowed upon the blecker of *Johannisberg*.

At a small distance from this pious and fertile hill, lie the small village of Bartholomew, and the town of Geisenheim. Several mansions of the nobility are in this neighbourhood. Some appear still to be in a flourishing state; others are manifestly upon the decline. Among the most elegant is the castle of Count Ostein; an ancient but magnificent building, ornamented with a very extensive garden. These scenes received the tribute of admiration which they justly deserved, and also the villages of Eubingen, and Rüdesheim. We united affection with our admiration for the latter, as the vineyards in its district produce wines that are deemed of the first quality.

To attempt a more particular description of these places would be tedious. It will be sufficient to inform you, that they constitute a part of that beautiful scenery we admired from the summit of *Johannisberg*. You may now suppose that we are arrived at *Bingen*, where we landed, while our conductor paid another toll,
From





View of Bingen & Klopp Castle ascending the Rhine.

From Mentz to Bingen, the *eastern* borders of the Rhine chiefly exulted in the bounties of nature, and more richly rewarded the toils of industry. At Bingen, the *western* shore assumes a more pleasing aspect, as if it were in recompence for its long disgrace; it even exceeds the other for a great extent in the number of its large and respectable towns; nor is inferior either in beauty or fertility.

Bingen is situated close by a narrow defile of perpendicular rocks, and among these the contracted Rhine is compelled to flow in a narrower and deeper channel. The country in the southern direction, though mountainous, is open and occasionally enlivened with hamlets, and the remains of ancient buildings; and where the soil is not adapted to the culture of the vine, it is clothed with various sorts of grain, with rich pasturage, or with the trees of the forest.

The town is placed at the foot of a lofty mountain of a pyramidical form; on the summit of this mountain the ancient castle of *Klopp* assumes the air of guardian to the inhabitants below. Bingen enjoys a view of the luxurious scenes which grace the northern borders. This picture is terminated on the right hand by the priory of Johannisberg; and in the front by
the.

the extensive forest of Landefswald. It is also adjacent to the river *Nabe*, that flows into the Rhine south of the antique castle. Over this is thrown a stone bridge contiguous to the Rhine. The bridge bears the name of *Drusus*, from the tradition that it was built by Drusus Germanicus. At the entrance into this defile is a turret built upon a small island that has the singular name of *Mans Tburen*, the Tower of Mice.

Bingen is a chapter of the cathedral of Mentz, from which it is distant about eighteen miles, and this chapter claims the right of tollage. From the junction of the two rivers, and from its being surrounded with the various productions of nature, Bingen enjoys a very considerable trade in the different articles of timber, grain, and Rhenish wines.

The little turret, or Mouse Tower, is said to derive its name from a punishment which credulity says was inflicted upon Archbishop Hatton the Second, who not only refused to distribute corn among the populace during a famine, but ordered a number of the poor to be burnt in a barn as the most expeditious method of diminishing the demand; adding, that they were no other than mice that devoured the property of the rich. For these most heinous crimes he met with his deserts; and his Grace was completely devoured

voured by mice in this very tower. Others, however, less credulous, assert that *Mans Thuren* is a corruption of Mouth Thuren, the tower of tollage; and that it was erected that no vessel might enter the Streights before they had paid the toll demanded.

Some few miles upon the river Nahe, is the city of *Kreuzenach*, which was an Imperial city from the time of Charlemagne, to that of Henry the Fourth; who, during his prosperity, in the unsuspecting generosity of his heart, gave it as a present to his supposed friend Erchard, Bishop of Spires. You recollect that the long reign of this Emperor was marked with misfortunes, which are principally ascribed to his quarrel with the clergy, and the animosities they had excited against him for having reclaimed those possessions, which had been lavished upon them by his predecessors; and yet terrified at the anathema of the Pope, he was compelled to remain three days and three nights, in the depth of winter, in the court yard of the Pope's palace at *Conosa*, bare-footed, imploring absolution in the most humiliating terms. You may also recollect that he was afterwards dethroned by his son, detained some time in prison, and afterwards reduced to the most abject poverty. In this state he applied to the sycophant of his prosperity, who re-
sided

sided at *Kreuzenach* in luxurious ease. Maier, a German historian, relates the circumstance in the following manner. "The unfortunate Emperor came to the castle in as wretched a state as when he waited at the palace of Conosa, stript to his shirt, and bare-footed. He had the attitude, voice, and humiliated aspect of a common beggar. He looked up with a timid eye to that bishop, who had been his most intimate friend in the days of his prosperity, and to whom he had been so lavish of his bounties, in hopes to receive consolation and support in the countenance of his former dependant. He then glanced his eye over the stately dome which he himself had built, and seemed to say, behold my claim to commiseration! while the briny tear trickled down his grief-worn cheek, into the wounds which the heavy chains of his rebellious son had inflicted. He now ventures to exclaim, with faltering accent, *I have lost empire and hope! For the love of God throw me a morsel of bread upon the ground I have given you!* The supercilious and inhuman priest pretended that he could dispose of nothing without the consent of his chapter, and finally dismissed him with an oath—*By the mother of Jesus I will not assist you.*"

I am convinced I shall have your pardon for
taking

taking you a little out of the way, in order to communicate to you this very affecting anecdote. I shall now pursue my course.

In the passage from Bingen to *Bacharach*, which is about twelve miles distant, the eye is continually amused with a great variety of objects. Savage wildness, blended with high cultivation, extensive prospects immediately succeeded by perpendicular cliffs, that scarcely admit the day; and a multitude of castles placed on the summit of the mountains mouldering into ruins, unite to render the scene both amusing and awful. My plan, and your patience, will not permit me to enlarge.—I shall simply specify some few particulars that form this groupe.

Upon leaving Bingen, we entered into a Streight, formed by the approach of rocks, nearly perpendicular. Some few of these were capable of cultivation; some were covered with forest oak; but most of them were barren. At the bottom of these cliffs, we sometimes saw a fisherman's tent, and wretched villages at considerable distance from each other.

It is in this spot that the current of the river seems most in danger of being interrupted. Stones of an enormous size oppose themselves every instant to the stream, that artfully eludes them by seeking another channel. History informs us,

that a chain of rocks ran across the river, and impeded navigation, until a channel was opened by the force of gunpowder. At low-water the passage for large vessels is not made without some degree of difficulty. Ancient Barons seem to have been induced to place their castles in these more ineligible regions, by an eagerness to take advantage of the narrowness of the stream, that they might command navigation, either to extort tolls, protect their dependants, or annoy their adversaries.

Of these ancient castles, whose histories would doubtless furnish curious anecdotes in large abundance, and innumerable instances both of savage cruelty and astonishing heroism, I shall only point out to you *Ebrenfels*. Its elegant modern tower, erected by Count Ostein, adjacent to the ruins, to enjoy the enchanting view of the river, demands this compliment. The vines of its mountain are also placed amongst the choicest in the district of Rüdesheim. It is so steep that the manure can alone be carried on the shoulders of the labourers.

At Bingenlock, the Rhine acquiring enlargement, joyfully expands itself into a species of lake; then it takes a sudden turn towards the north, as if with a determination to penetrate the forest of Landelswald. At Amanshausen, it alters





View of Bachevash, & the castle of Fürstentberg descending the Rhine.

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ters its purpose, and stretches forward to the west. Amandhausen is distinguished for the growth of the best Blecker; and the convent of Aalhausen, which is built in the forest, is distinguished for being a place of pilgrimage, where deluded worshippers pay dear for a sip of that cordial, hope. Near to the village Dreyeckshausen, the hills again retire; the river forms a spacious lake, and faces the ruins of Sonnek castle. Opposite to Lorricks, which is the last town in the district of Rhingau, is a small well cultivated island, the property of Mr. Van Sohler. Contiguous to this island, the rivulet *Winsbach*, passing by the town of Lorricks, mingles its waters with the Rhine. A row of cloud-capt mountains of various fantastic forms, some of which are crowned with mouldering castles, conduct us to the town or city of Bacherach.

Bacherach belongs to the palatinate. One part of it is built close to the Rhine, at the foot of a mountain; some part attempts to climb the hill. From the extent of its fortifications, it was probably much larger than it is at present. The houses are compressed into as small a compass as possible, that they may more effectually enjoy the guardianship of the strong castle, over its head. The extreme narrowness of its

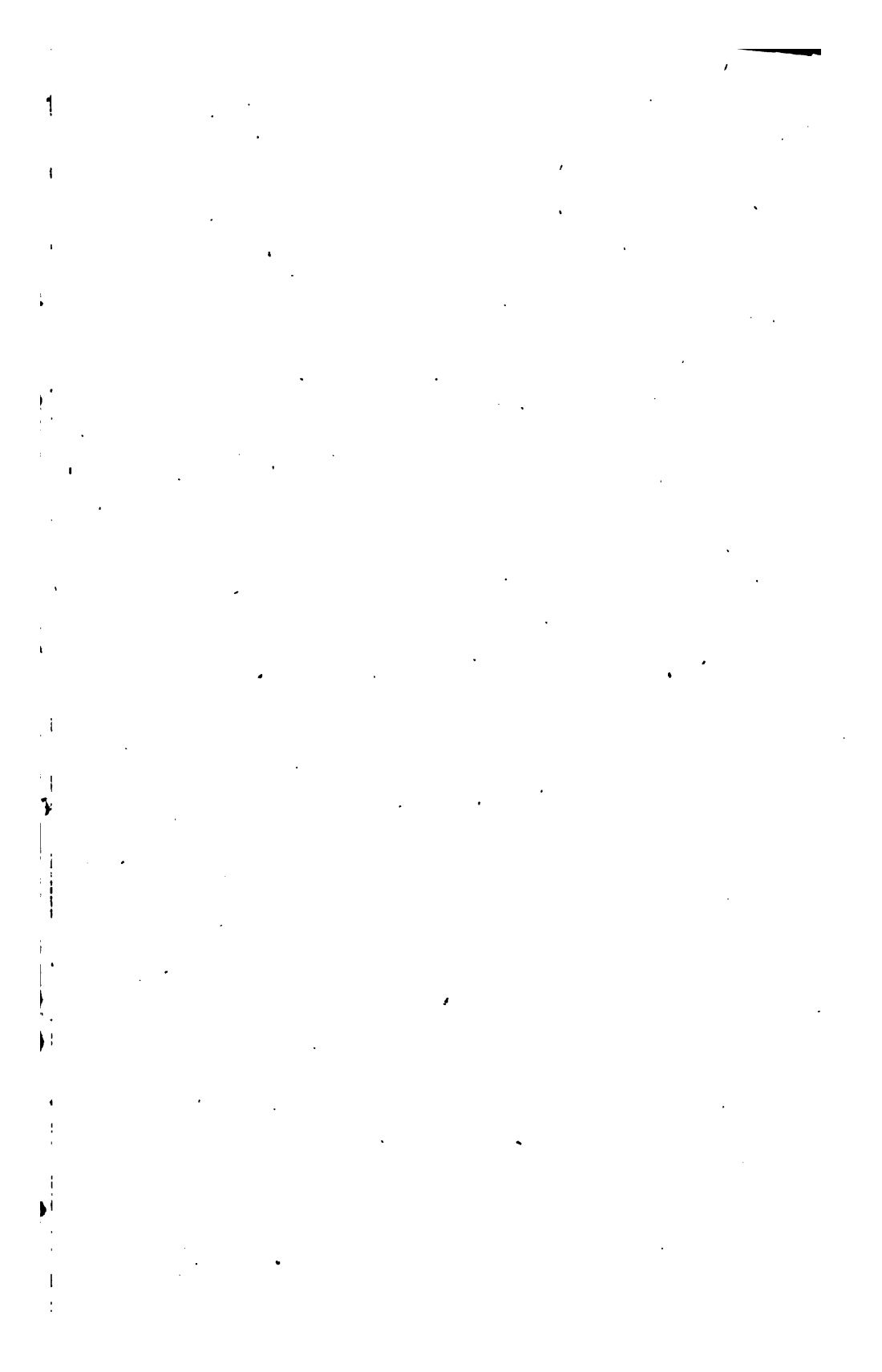
streets manifest how great a sacrifice must some times be made to safety, and the frequent fires occasioned by this defect, united with the nature of the buildings, which are mostly of plaistered timber, prove how much we may be exposed to one danger by anxiously avoiding another.

This is a town of great antiquity. It is said to derive its name from an altar, on which the Romans used to sacrifice to Bacchus; and that it is a corruption of *Bacchi ara*. They even point out to you a large rock, in the midst of the river, on which they say the altar once stood. At a period when it was permitted to mankind to create their own deities, and place them where they pleased; the ancients could not have invented a more proper divinity, or have placed him in a more pertinent spot, as the surrounding vineyards produce a beverage worthy of the god; and from his station, he could conveniently protect the whole district of the Rhingan, with the aid of the numerous castles, whether his godship was drunk or sober. But if you are not contented with these ideal encomiums of the generous vintage of Bacherach, take real authorities of the highest class. The Emperor Venceslas was glad to receive four *fuder* of
this

this wine, instead of ten thousand florins, presented to him by the inhabitants of Nurenberg, to reclaim their privileges. Nay, *infallibility* itself proclaims its excellent quality; a fuder of this wine was annually sent to Rome for the private use of the Pope, Pius the Second.

I have already hinted to you, that our physician's lady was an excellent singer. She had already amused us with some pleasing airs, sung with great taste, when the beauties of nature around us did not call forth all our attention. Her husband frequently hummed a *secondo*, in a manner that indicated both taste and skill. We had frequently solicited for a *solo*, but his extreme diffidence had hitherto prevented his compliance. Upon our repeating the request that he would favour us with a hymn in honour of the god of wine, now we were approaching to his altar, his lady reminded him of the song which is the favourite of all the inhabitants of the Rhingan. He immediately complied, and sung the following with great spirit. It is a song of triumph, in the supposed superiority of Rhinish wine to that of every country in the globe. It enumerates many hills that rejoice the heart of man with the juice of the grape; and marks their inferiority to the growth of the Rhingan and its neighbourhood. I have translated the

two first and two last verses, by way of specimen; and as I think there is something lively and correspondent in the tune, I have noted it down.



2.

Ihn bringt das vaterland aus seiner stille,
Wie war er sonst so gut ?
Wie war er sonst so edel, stille,
Und doch voll kraft und muth ?

3.

Am Rhein, am Rhein, da wachsen unsre reben :
Gefegnet sey der Rhein !
Da wachsen sie am ufer hin, und geben
Uns diesen lieben wein.

4.

So trinkt hin dann, und läßt uns alle wege
Uns freun, und frölich seyn :
Und wistten wir wo jemand traurig läge,
Wir gäben ihm den wein.

2.

Yes, Germany's the copious source
Of wines that all excel :
So mild, so gen'rous, full of force—
None chear the heart so well.

3.

Rhingau alone such grapes can boast.
Huzza ! here's to the Rhine !
And may the wretch that slights the toast,
Forget the taste of wine.

4.

Come drink about, and let's be gay
With nectar so divine !
Is any man to grief a prey ?
We'll comfort him with wine.

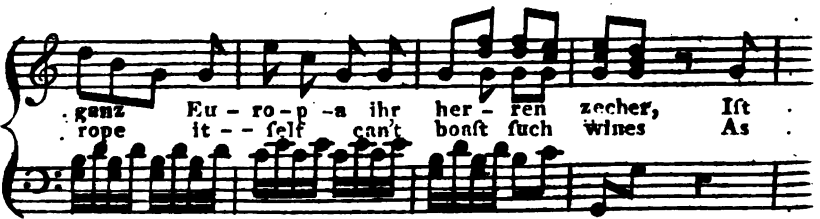
A favourite Song in the Rhingau.



Bekränzt mit laub den liebe vollen becher, Und
The brim-ful go-blet crown with wines, And



trinkt ihn frölich leer, und trinkt ihn frölich leer, In
drink, and drink the cordial juice: Eu-



ganz Eu-ro-p-a ihr her-ren zecher, Ist
rope it-self can't bonst such wines As



solch, ist solch, ist solch ein wein nicht mehr. Ist
these, as these blest'd hills - - pro-duce. As



solch, ist solch, ist solch ein wein nicht mehr..
these, as these blest'd hills - - pro-duce.



LETTER L.

From Bacherach to St. Goar.

AT a small distance from Bacherach, is the borough of Kaub, snugly sheltered behind a semi-fertile mountain, the projection of whose base forms a kind of bay, and whose summit is terminated by craggy rocks.

This borough belongs to the palatinate, claims the right of tollage, cultivates the vine, possesses excellent slate for tiles, of which it employs one part, and makes another an article of commerce; and it wisely tolerates the Protestants. From these advantages united, it enjoys vivacity, exhibits neatness, and assumes an air of respectability, superior to any town of its size upon the river. Its situation renders it a place of strong defence, high impracticable cliffs face it on the opposite side of the river, and from behind it is guarded by the castle of Gutenfels, built upon the summit of a rock. Its strength was put to full proof during the Swedish wars, and it triumphed over all its assailants.

Opposite to the town, and nearly in the middle of the river, stands the celebrated fort called the *Pfalz*, or Palatinate. This fort answers several important purposes. It is the state prison of the palatinate; and it effectually prevents all vessels from eluding the tolls due to Kaub. Its situation, and its construction, which unites the security of thick massy walls, subterraneous cells, iron bars, trap doors, &c. precludes all possibility of escape to the hopeless prisoners; and a watchman continually resident in the turret, who rings a bell to advertise collectors on shore, makes it almost as impracticable for vessels to pass unnoticed.

After we had rambled about Kaub half an hour, we returned to our boat, and pursued our voyage through a range of hills covered with vines; although numbers appeared almost too steep for cultivation, and in a short space of time we were before *Oberweszel*.

This is a very ancient city: it was in the time of Henry the Seventh an imperial town. Henry gave it to his brother Baudoin in the year 1312, in recompence for services rendered during the civil wars. You may recollect that this Emperor, after he had settled the affairs of Germany, went into Italy with a view of composing their troubles, and in the midst of his successful



View of the Castle descending the Rhine.

Published by J. J. Smith, London, 1875.



View of Oberweel, & the Castle of Schoenberg: descending the Rhine.

Published by J. Edwards, London May 12 1783.

ful endeavours, he was poisoned by a consecrated wafer given him by a monk, bribed by the Florentines to the execrable deed.

The town, which now belongs to the Electorate of Treves, is more distinguished for its religion than any of its neighbouring cities: that is, for a superfluous number of churches, and convents, and monasteries, and steeples, and bells, and altars. We were informed that in a church belonging to the Minorites is an exceeding good copy of Rubens famous descent from the cross, by Duffenbeck, one of his scholars.

Oberwesel is situated in the district of Wezel. It scarcely yields to that of other towns I have mentioned in the beauties of situation. It is placed close by the river, in a vale between a high and craggy rock, on the southern side, and lofty, but more expanded hills on the northern. While an immense hill nearly opposite on the eastern borders of the river, is covered with vines to its very summit. Vineyards abound in this district also, which yield excellent wines, although they are deemed somewhat inferior to those of the Rhingan. On the top of the craggy rock is the famous castle of Schönberg, Anglice *fine bill*, which gives a name to the ancient family I have already mentioned.

The

The passage from Oberwefel to St. Goar, is principally amongst steep and craggy hills that are not even adorned with any other ruins than their own. A few fishermen's huts are placed contiguous to the borders of the Rhine, that the stream may yield nourishment, where the earth refuses it. The hills are so near to the edge of the river, that scarcely is there space left for the horses that draw the vessels against the current, and this is frequently interrupted by the fall of large masses from the summit, and of shivering of slate from the sides of the mountains.

At Lührley, where the Rhine forms a kind of bay, is a rock celebrated for its echo. It repeats several times very distinctly. From this circumstance it derives its name, the word Lührley, signifying to resound. Here, as you will suppose, we all of us gave specimens of stentorial powers. Like the members of some disputing clubs, each tried in his turn who could be heard the longest and the loudest. We were delighted with the sound of our own voices, and not a little flattered that the rocks should deign to repeat so frequently every thing we uttered. When our lungs and our ears were tired with this exercise, we solicited of our fair musician to sooth us with some plaintive ditty. She modulated her voice

to

to the full swell of resonance, without the articulation of an echo, and her husband softly breathing a *secondo* upon the German flute, we were charmed with a duetto. The rocks of Lührley never assisted at one so good. We repeatedly pronounced it *No ! Never !* And they as repeatedly answered *No ! Never.*

After we had taken a view of the ancient castle of Katze, at some little distance on our right hand, the hills again reared particularly on the western borders, to present us with a full view of the enormous rock of *Rheinfels*, with its majestic castle. So stupendous is its size, that the town scarcely attracts attention, and its most sumptuous buildings are not to be compared to a single stone that composes the mighty mass. *Rheinfels* is a rock by itself, obviously aiming at a proud independance of every connection. It undertakes alone to support the large and noble fortress built upon its summit; and yet by its bellying over the river, it seems to sink under the load. The dwellings immediately under the projection of the rock, appear as the blocks under a man of war, upon the point of being launched into the stream, and threatening inevitable destruction to all that attempt to retard its progress.

This fortress made a resistance worthy of itself in the Spanish wars, and solely defied an host of enemies. The rock is justly termed
Rheinfels,

Rheinfels, the rock of the Rhine, by way of pre-eminence, as it is the boldest, and most detached of any upon the borders of the Rhine. The town under it has the appellation of St. Goar.

This town has also the right of tollage, proceeding in all probability from its being under a new master; it being under the jurisdiction of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. This circumstance, together with considerable commerce in the articles of wines and hides, renders it flourishing and sprightly. It is well built, and the situation is charming. The great and terrible rock of Rheinfels is contrasted by the placid expansion of the river; and by the verdure of the neighbouring hills, that by presenting their broad surfaces to tillage, manifest that they prefer general utility to grandeur, and favour the arts of peace more than the horrors of war.

It being about two o'clock in the afternoon, we went on shore and dined at the sign of the Forrester, or Green Man, a public house on the terrace, adjacent to the river.

While dinner was preparing we wandered about the town. The streets are in general narrow, and being principally built of wood, like the city of Bacherach, it is subject to frequent fires. It has one square, however, that is tolerably spacious, and the appearance of it is not despicable. We also ascended the stupen-



View of St. Goar, & the Castle of Rheinfels, descending the Rhine.



dous cliff to reconnoitre the adjacent country; and returned as fatigued as we were delighted, and as well disposed to partake of a good dinner as to repose our weary limbs. Although an equal degree of elegance was not to be expected in this more sequestered place, with the hotels on the public roads, and in more populous cities, yet our repast was good. Salmon, perch, and Rhine crabs gave an excellent relish to a glass of wine, that reflected no disgrace on the neighbourhood of its growth. Our company had by this time entered fully into the *third stage* of friendship. The reserve of strangers was totally thrown aside, though the disposition to oblige received fresh vigour, and was upon the increase, from its having so repeatedly succeeded.

Our jolly landlord shewed us two silver cups of great antiquity, and curious workmanship; the sides were charged with figures and inscriptions to us unintelligible, nor could our host explain them. The best account he could give us of these cups was, that the one was said to have been a present to the city of St. Goar, by Christina, Queen of Sweden; and the other by one of the Princes of the house of Hesse Rheinfels, but upon what occasion he knew not. These cups were intrusted to his care, in consequence of the public courts respecting the police of the

town being held under his roof. He informed us also of a ceremony not unlike the singular custom at Highgate, of swearing strangers to the city of London. A heavy collar is produced, which the two sons of Charlemagne are said to have consecrated, on the day of their reconciliation, that took place in this city; and when the Landlord meets with guests, with whom the company dare venture to be jocular, it is fastened about the neck of those who had never visited the city before, or they must purchase an exemption by a stipulated number of bottles of Rhenish wine. If they refuse, two godfathers chosen by the company, oblige them to decide whether they will be christened with water or with wine. If they say with *water*; a large quantity is poured upon their heads; but if they prefer *wine*, they are to drink a certain number of toasts out of these silver cups.

The general pleasurable of this place made us quit it with regret. That we might derive some comfort from it after our departure, we took with us a bottle of good Rhenish, and laid in a provision of these slighter delicacies, tea, sugar, cream, &c. &c.

Being again placed in our boats, and having no immediate object to engage our attention equal to that we enjoyed; it was very natural after



To face Page 319

Kommt der tugend, wah-re freun-de fol-get mir;
Love-ly in-no-cence attend our so-cial joys;

Was kann unsre freude stöhren? Dich, was andre nur be-gehren,
Without thee, di-vinest treasure, Mortals vainly seek for pleasure;

Ru-he, dich empfinden wir. Was kann unsre freude stöhren?
Vicious pleasure stings & dies. Without thee, di-vinest treasure,

Dich, was andre nur be-gehren, Ru-he, dich empfinden wir.
Mortals vainly seek for pleasure; Vicious pleasure stings & dies.

2.

Unfre und der wahrheit feinde

Sind nicht mehr.

Schenkt euch jetzt dem sanften triebe,

Stiller freuden, edler liebe,

Werft die sorgen hin ins meer.

Schenkt euch jetzt dem sanften triebe,

Stiller freuden, edler liebe,

Werft die sorgen hin ins meer.

3.

Unfre freude winkt der tugend

Lächelnd zu ;

Unser forschen reizt den weisen,

Unser ernst gefällt den greisen,

Und den müden unfre ruhe.

Unser forschen reizt den weisen,

Unser ernst gefällt den greisen,

Und den müden unfre ruhe.

2.

Falschhood, hatred, envy, sneak to

Shades below ;

Fill your glasses bumper high to

Friendship, love, and probity, to

All that banish grief and woe.

Fill your glasses bumper high, to

Friendship, love, and probity, to

All that banish grief and woe.

3.

Mirth like our's fair virtue sees with

Placid smile,

Age itself enjoys our spirit,

All the wise confess it's merit,

Cares and griefs we thus beguile.

Age itself enjoys our spirit,

All the wise confess it's merit,

Cares and griefs we thus beguile.



we were somewhat settled, to call for a song. With much less ceremony than before, the Physician of Mentz selected the following from amongst a number that lay upon the table, and as the music was easy I attempted the secundo.

. You know that a second either in a duel, at a canvas for an office, or in a song, is very likely one time or other to become a principal. Although no professed singer, I acquitted myself to their satisfaction in this inferior station; and they insisted upon my becoming a principal, by giving them a song in the English language. In vain I urged that it was as absurd as praying in an unknown tongue; the professor declared he should be able to understand me. A longer contest would have indicated obstinacy, or an affectation of modesty. I therefore pitched upon one made by the joint labours of my good friend, a learned and pious divine, and your humble servant, as being most pertinent to our situation, and the track of country through which we had passed. It was the famous drinking song of Anacreon. My friend had made a faithful and an elegant translation of it, but the versification was not adapted to music. It was also too literal for modern discoveries, for poor Anacreon knew little of the solar system; besides I thought it deficient in that air of joviality, which is essential to a song in honour of the bottle. These defects I have attempted to supply in the best manner I was able, and after making the requisite apologies, I ventured to sing as follows.

I.

The earth is a toper and drinks up the rain,
 And tho' she drinks deep, is soon thirsty again ;
 The trees are all topers from the hour of their birth,
 And they flourish the more as they drink from the earth.

II.

Your smooth flowing rivers, tho' sober they seem,
 Will steal through large empires and tipple each stream ;
 Cool gales by old Ocean are constantly quaff,
 And he'll drink you down rivers and seas at a draught.

III.

Diana the prude slyly tipples by night,
 And it is by her tipping her face shines so bright.
 From Mercury to Georgium, each planet that rolls ;
 Drinks light round the sun, as we punch round our bowls !

IV.

The jelly-fac'd Sun too—believe it or not—
 So bright and so glorious, is still but a sot ;
 With dews and with vapours he's wetting his lips,
 And clouds best can tell you how much the rogue sips ;

V.

The laws of creation then let us obey,
 Give plenty of liquor to moisten our clay.
 You censure the bottle ; but pray tell me why,
 While Nature is soaking, should we remain dry ?

LETTER LL

From St. Goar to Coblenz.

AS we were thus amusing ourselves, some of us seated at the door of the cabin, and others on the platform before it, our boat, assisted by the oars of the bargemen, passed by the village of Walmich, adjacent to which are conspicuous the ruins of the ancient castle of Turenberg, and also the village of Erenthal, which is enlivened with a pleasant island in the front, and protected by mountains that are enriched with mines of silver in the rear;—the village of Kester, with its lofty mountains, whose sides are covered with vines, and whose summit is tufted with a thick umbrageous forest;—Salzig, surrounded with vineyards and orchards;—the ruins of Leuvenstein and Sternfels;—Bornhoven;—and the numerous convents in the neighbourhood of Kamp. Time will not permit me to do justice to these. I must however stop to inform you, that at Bornhoven is a convent of Capuchin friars, most pleasantly situated

situated amidst vineyards and meadows, and ornamented with a majestic alley of walnut-trees; with these terrestrial charms, it is supposed to enjoy some celestial powers, as it is the resort of numerous pilgrims, who find themselves abundantly relieved, by paying their vows, and their money, and receiving absolution from the holy fraternity. Kamp is supposed to be derived from *Campus*; and there are many traces of a Roman camp discovered on the spot.

You may now imagine us before Boppart, or Poppart. This is a very ancient town, there being undoubted documents of its having existed before the year 860. It appears from the water to have a very respectable appearance; but they who know it best, are not sanguine in its praises. Boppart was also transferred by Henry the Seventh to his brother Balwin, Archbishop of Treves, in the year 1312, and since that period has belonged to the electorate. Once, indeed, it made an effort for independency, but the destruction of one part of the town, reduced the other to the yoke of obedience.

The situation of Boppart renders it a pleasing picture. It is not altogether destitute of grandeur, but its character is rather that of being *inviting*. The mountains on the left hand, behind the town, rise with great majesty one

above another, making three stages, and at each stage an ample platform presents its surface to tillage, or is covered with wood. On the right hand, the hills, though nearly perpendicular, are cloathed with vines, intersected by numbers of artificial terraces up to the summit. The recession of hills in a north-west direction, and the sudden turn of the Rhine to the east, form an opening towards the north, which is enriched with the view of distant hills, venerable castles, and extensive forests. The most striking point of view is immediately after you have passed the town; the retrospect commands the town in full aspect, with its spiritual protector, the large and venerable Gothic cathedral, and manifests, at once, the sublimity and fertility of its mountains.

At a small distance from Boppard, opposite to the hill and castle of Niedersberg, the Rhine forms an acute angle; it seems on a sudden to have changed its purpose, and tired of pushing forwards towards the north-west, turns about and determines to return to the east. To confess the truth, notwithstanding the airs he may give himself, Rhine is no free agent in this change; he is compelled to it by a phalanx of mighty rocks, drawn up on each side of the stream, to obstruct his passage in any other direction.

direction. He is manifestly disconcerted, foams and roars, and forms eddies and whirlpools in a kind of phrensy. They let him foam, and vent his rage, and they mock his roar by re-echoing it among themselves. Were you to behold these rocks, you would not be surprised at their austerity against the Rhine; they have not one pleasing trait in their aspect; most of them are rugged and barren; many threaten to fall upon the heads of the most inoffensive passengers. The tops of others recede somewhat from their perpendicular brethren, and by their being tufted with trees, seem to have more benignant natures. But even these are treacherous; for the sheets of slate continually detached from their sides, not only contribute towards altering the course of the river, but threaten to choak it up.

But to speak in more humble prose:—As we entered this gloomy defile, we were at a loss which way the stream could possibly conduct us out; its course was threatened, at every instant, to be effectually impeded by the bold perpendicular cliffs that advanced to obstruct its progress: for the space of three miles, nature did not once look gay, all was gloom and horror. A few scattered huts of fishermen, cleave, like bird's-nests, to the side of the hills, wherever they will permit the freedom; and a few images

of saints, and crucifixes, are placed on an eminence, to give a religious turn to these gloomy retirements. Our boatman, to increase our horrors, related several murders that were committed upon passengers by ruffians, who escaped among the hills; and his wife, whose good qualities and obliging disposition demanded a more early introduction to your acquaintance, assured us that ghosts and apparitions frequently haunted this dreary place.

Our philosopher made some very pertinent remarks upon the pleasure derived from scenes of horror. He was manifestly a disciple of Burke, whose treatise on the Sublime, he confessed he had read with the greatest pleasure. He concluded his observations with adverting to the wonderful singularity of our make, by which we are enabled to derive pleasure from subjects naturally calculated to inflict pain; by this most benevolent constitution, is our capacity for enjoyments increased, by the very means which threaten to destroy it.

At length these morose and gigantic hills gradually filed off to the right and left, opening to us a view of the whole region of *Spays*, Peterspay, Mittelspay, Niederspay on the one side, Braubach, and the castle of Maixburg, on the other. By this sudden change, our ladies, in particular,





View of Hundorf, descending the Rhine.

particular, found themselves recompenced for the preceding scenes of horror. The castle stands upon a bold independent rock :—the *back* of Brau, or Brau-spring, furnishes mineral water, and in its neighbourhood are mines of lead and silver.

We had scarcely taken a view of the castle before we arrived at the spot, which has the singular and absurd name of *Hundsrug*, literally the Dog's back, which appellation is to be ascribed to a similar blunder with your Bell and Savage, instead of *La Belle Sauvage* ; or, Bull and Mouth street, instead of *Bologne Mouth*. It is a corruption of Hunns rug :—the return of the Hunns or Hungarians. History informs us, that they formerly possessed a large tract of country between the Moselle and the Rhine ; but being driven out by the Emperor Gratian, they passed the Rhine at this place. It forms a pleasing landscape, and is much admired as exhibiting a view of placid nature. Vineyards, forests, and pasture-ground, seem to vie with each other in yielding their stores to the service of man. A similar view of a small town, or city of Oberlahnstein, presented itself immediately after we had passed this, which may be deemed a companion to it. In many things it has the preference ; the cottage is sheltered from the winds

by the umbrageous trees, and excites the idea of rural tranquillity. The twin mountains on the opposite shore : the one boldly rising and terminated with a turret, or kind of watch tower ; the other more lofty but yet more fertile, with the comely village at its base ; and the Rhine that expands and seems to enjoy its enlargement from those narrow confines that had so lately disturbed its course, exhibited a perfect contrast to the scenes of horror we had passed. This was no unwelcome transition from the sublime to the beautiful.

Oberlahnstein belongs to the Elector of Mentz ; and a new territory, according to custom, demands a new tax ; in order to satisfy which, we were obliged to cross the river. The present Elector has built a country seat, and formed an extensive garden in this place, of which he is so fond, that it may be said to rival his *favorite*.

Nearly opposite to Lahnstein, is the famous Konings Stahl, literally Kings seat. This is a turret in the form of an octagon, built upon a small eminence, and surrounded with venerable walnut-trees. It is not more than eleven or twelve feet in height ; a few steps conduct to a platform, on which is placed a circuitous bench, or seat of stone. It was here that the Electors used to assemble in the fourteenth century, to
chuse

chuse an Emperor, and to deliberate about affairs of state. It is in consequence of this circumstance, that the city of Rhens, to which it belongs, still enjoys many privileges: its wines are exempt from the toll established at Oberlahnstein; and all the materials for building, i. e. wood, stone, and slate, are free from the tollage of Boppard, for the small acknowledgment of two florins per year. It is also entitled to vend and purchase merchandize at Coblentz, equally with the citizens of the place. Adjacent to this tower, is the spot where the imperial crown was taken from the Emperor Venceslas, in the year 1400.

Between the two Lahnsteins, the *upper* and *netber*, the river *Lahn* pours its current into the Rhine. I had occasion to mention this river, as we passed through Ems and Nassau, in our journey from Coblentz to Mentz. After having meandered through vales and romantic wilds, with a species of miniature grandeur, and acquired a degree of respectability by its travels, it ventures to form a union with the mighty Rhine.

We were now advancing towards the close of the day, and the end of our journey. The island of Oberwerth, the lofty monastery of Carthusians, and the city of Coblentz, were before us,

us, towards our left hand. The village of Horgheim, celebrated for a grape that resembles claret, and Pfoffendorp, with a glimpse of Ehrenbeiststein, was before us, towards the right. —The sun was taking his leave of our hemisphere beyond the distant hills, between Stolzenfels and the Carthusian convent. We were all delighted with enchanting scenes, so well adapted to the varied pleasures of the day. Our professor, in particular, turning towards the west, with the enthusiast of a Persian towards the east, burst forth into the following address to the evening. The melody in his heart compensated for the defects of voice.

Komm,

1.

Komm, stiller Abend, nieder,
Auf unsre kleine flur;
Dir tönen unsre lieder,
Wie schön bist du, Natur!

1.

Come silent Eve, return again,
Our homely cottage view;
And hear us sing a chearful strain,
To thee and Nature due.

2.

Schon steigt die abendröthe
Herab ins kühle thal;
Bald glänzt in sanfter röthe
Der sonne letzter strahl.

2.

The sun retires yon hills behind,
And sinks into the sea;
Glancing his rays both mild & kind,
Oh blushing maid, on thee.

3.

All überall herrscht schweigen
Nur schwingt der vögel chor
Hoch aus den dunkeln zweigen
Den nachtgesang empor.

3.

To thee he yields the soothing sway,
Inviting all to rest;
The birds conclude the happy day,
With singing on thy breast.

4.

Komm, lieber Abend, nieder,
Auf unsre kleine flur;
Dir tönen unsre lieder
Wie schön bist du Natur.

4.

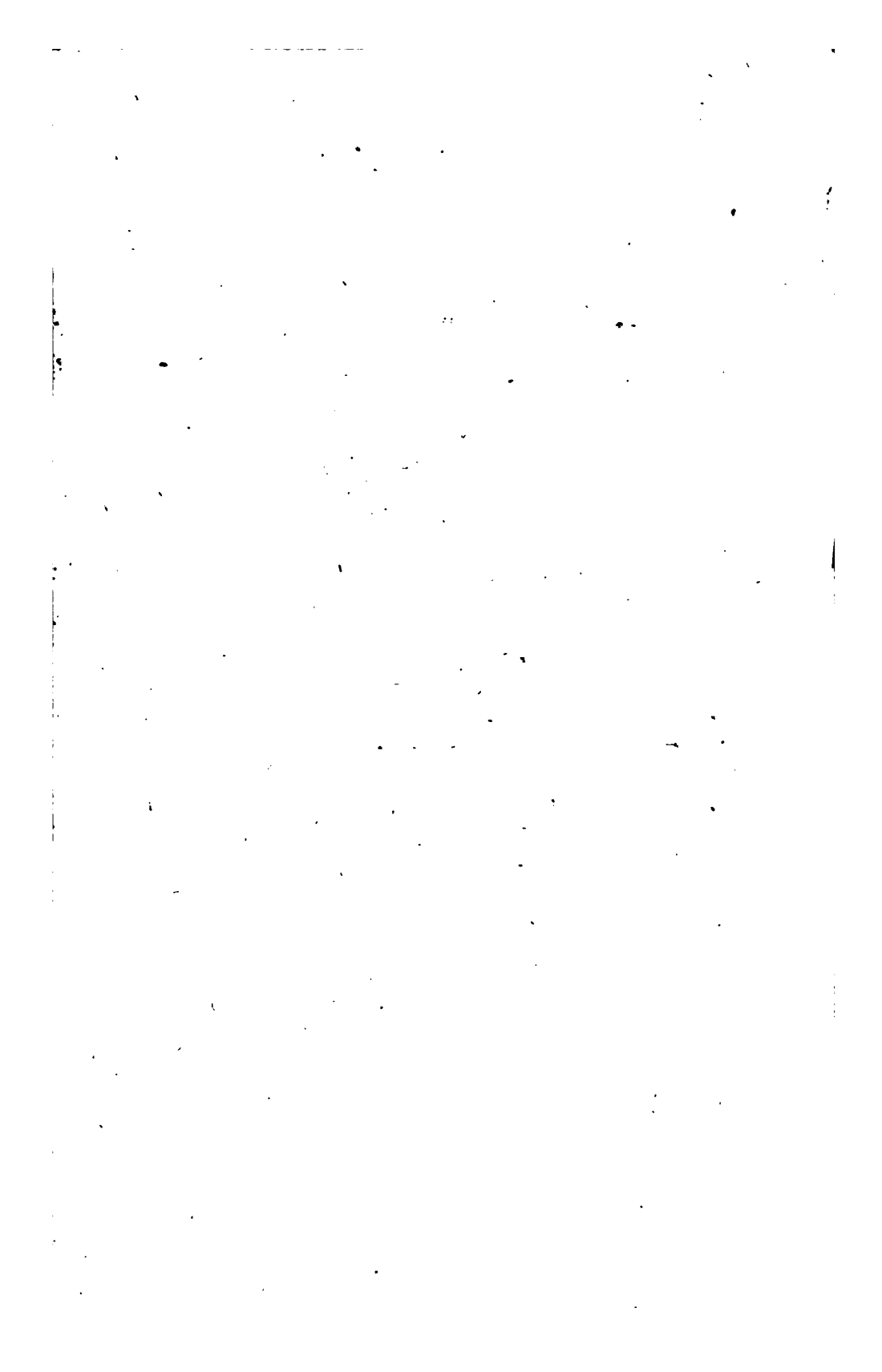
Come silent Eve, return again,
Our homely cottage view;
And hear us sing a chearful strain,
To thee and Nature due.

After he had finished, he informed us, that it was customary for the villagers in his country, to sing the above Ode, and others of a similar nature, at the doors of their houses, on the close of a summer's day.

Let us, my dear, says the Doctor to his lady, sing the duetto which is so frequently sung by parties on the water, at Mentz.

Before

Before I give you this duetto, I must inform you that it is a composition of a very singular nature. The author, Stolberg, endeavoured to vary the signification of a very limited number of phrases, so as to diversify the imagery as much as possible: it is without rhyme in the original; but I perceived, in my attempt to translate it, that so close an imitation would appear flat and insipid. I have, however, been as sparing of rhyme as possible, by a repetition of the same word, in two different connections.



2.

Ueber den wipfeln des westlichen haines
Winket uns freundlich der röthliche schein;
Unter den zweigen des östlichen haines
Tanzt der kalme im röthlichen schein;
Freude des himmels, und ruhe des haines
Athmet die seel' im erröthenden schein.

3.

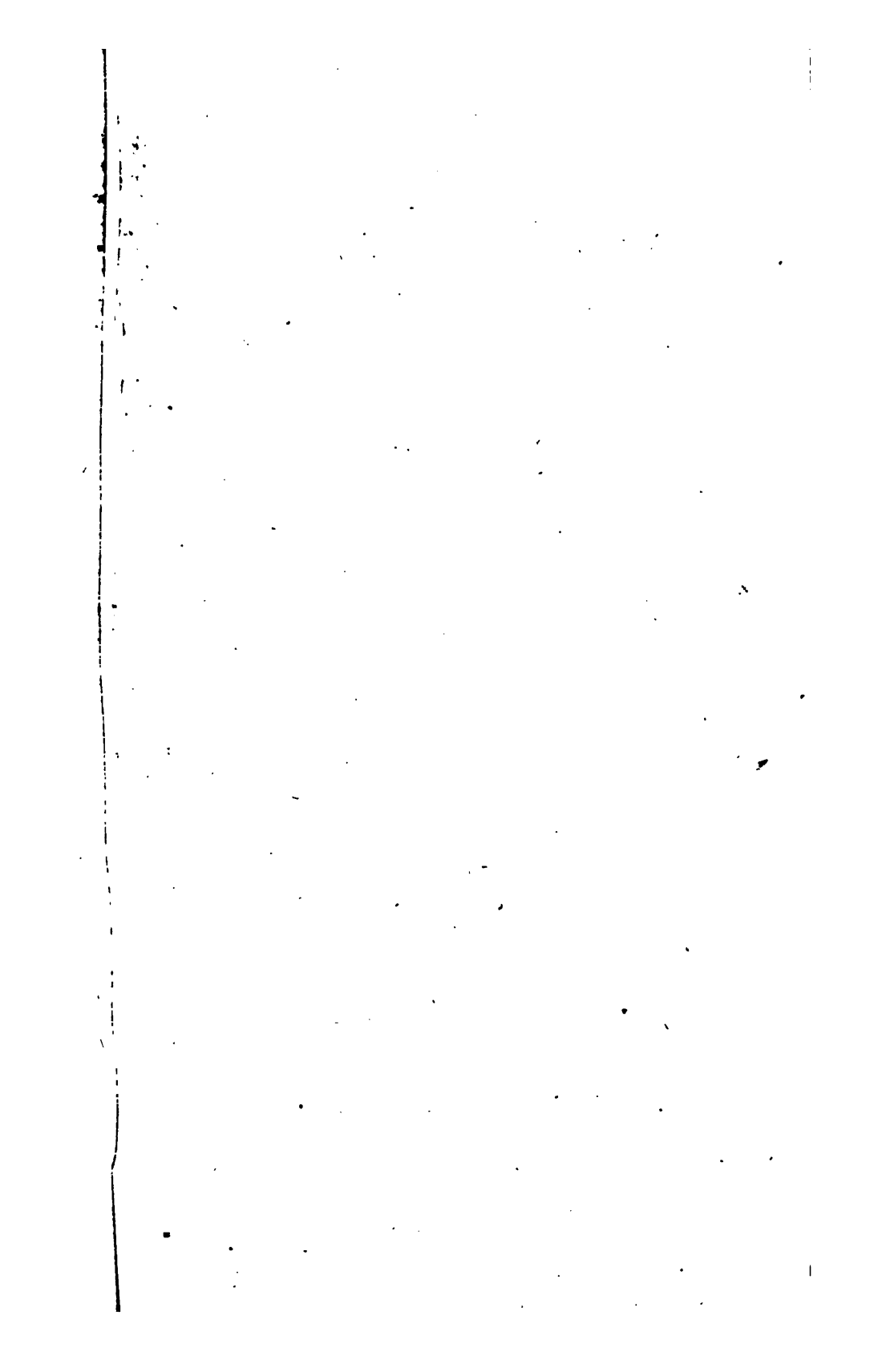
Ach, es entschwindet mit thätigem flügel
Uns auf den wiegenden wellen die zeit.
Morgen entschwinde mit schimmerndem flügel
Wieder, wie gestern und heute, die zeit;
Bis wir auf höherem strahlendem flügel
Selber entschwinden der wechselnden zeit.

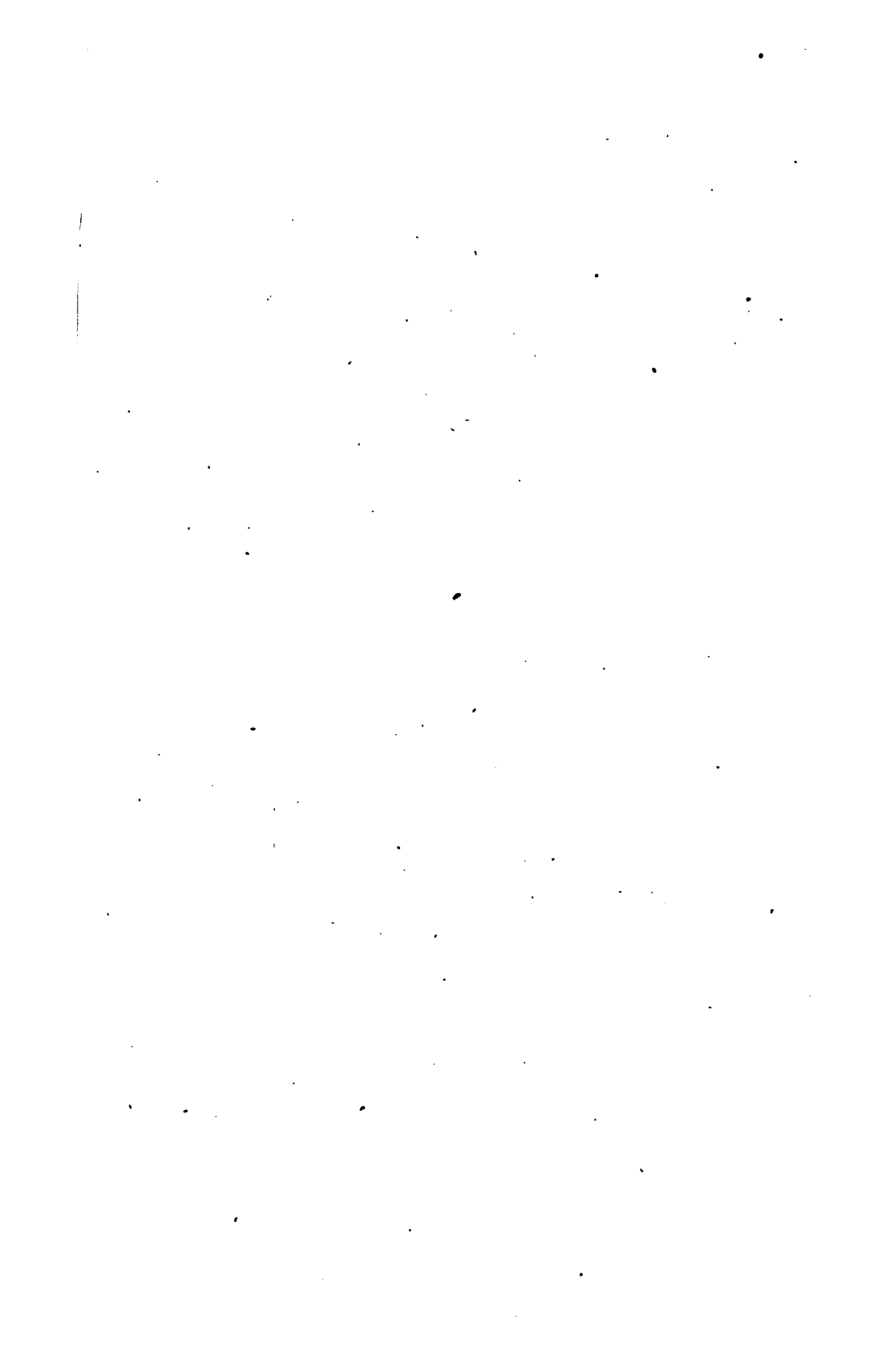
2.

Over the summit of yon western forest,
So kindly we're smil'd at by Sol's purple ray;
Under the branches of yon eastern forest,
The reeds as they're waving reflect purple day;
The smiles of the heavens and this tranquil forest,
Infuse in the soul sweet hope's cheery ray.

3.

See how we hasten on time's broadest pinions
Over life's billows, far swifter than wind!
To-day is advancing on time's broadest pinions,
It brings on to-morrow, and leaves years behind,
Till we soar upwards on yet swifter pinions,
Leave world with its billows, and outstrip the wind.





You are now to suppose us landed at Coblentz, entering the Rheinthor, and proceeding to the sign of the ship, a public-house adjacent to the river. This was recommended to us by our boatman, who urged that its contiguity to the Rhine might save us half an hour in the morning. As we had no chaise and four to rattle along the streets; as we had seen and had been seen at Coblentz, as much as our hearts could desire, my friend and myself had no objection to the proposal. Our accommodations were decent: we took a hasty supper, and retired early to bed, our spirits being somewhat exhausted by the exertions of the day, and having the obligation of early rising before us on the morrow.

Our professor took his leave, by expressing the extreme pleasure he had received, adding, that the enjoyments of the day would, in his estimation, compensate for an half year of infidelity. My friend and self were inclined to the same sentiment;—but the young couple looked at *him*, and at *us*, with *amazement*, and at each other with a glow of countenance that approached to a blush,—but they said not a word.

LETTER LII.

VINEYARDS, &c.

IN my description of our passage from Mentz to Coblenz, I was too much enchanted with the beauteous face of nature, and with the romantic scenes that perpetually engaged our attention, to compose my spirits for cool narrative, or circumstantial detail. Now these spirits are somewhat evaporated, I can sit myself down with a degree of composure to give you a general idea of the *vitiferous* riches—if you will tolerate a word that savours of pedantry, for which these districts are so justly renowned. My former descriptions will have convinced you of the great abundance of these vineyards; but since you are rather partial to the fermented juice of the Rhenish grape, an account of their comparative excellencies, and an indication of those spots which are productive of the choicest nectar, cannot be deemed uninteresting.

The whole course of the Rhine from *Bonn* to
the

the mountains south of Mentz, is adorned with vineyards furnishing wines of no mean flavour to rejoice the heart of man with this favourite beverage ; but the space from Mentz to Coblentz yields the most luxurious juices, and chiefly supplies the demands of foreign countries.

In speaking of the positive, comparative, and superlative excellency of these wines, you cannot expect, my good friend, that I should speak wholly from experience. Whatever efforts we may have made during our visit in these quarters, the time was too short, and the varieties too numerous, for us to make many experiments, or to acquire the *gustus eruditus* necessary to become tasters general for the respectable community of Rhenish-wine-drinkers. I shall therefore be guided by other authorities, and principally by that of *Gerkin*, a German writer, who has treated this subject at large.

The general division of the vineyards, extending from Mentz to Coblentz, is into those of the *Rhingan*, properly so called, and into the regions south east and north west of that district. The name of Rhingan is frequently given to the whole tract of hilly country that follows the course of the river, but the proper district of the Rhingan commences, as I have already informed

formed you, at *Nieder Wallauf*, and terminates at *Lorrich*. Of the south east division, Mentz may be considered as the central point, and it is surrounded with vineyards of the first quality. The vines in the highest reputation on this or the western side of Mentz, are the vines of *Bodenheim*, *Laubenheim*, *Nierstein*, *Bischoheim*, *Dienheim*, *Harschheim*, &c. The vines on the other, or eastern side of the river, and in the neighbourhood of Mentz, are those of *wicked Coßheim* and *Hoch-beim*, which are very extensive. Of these the *Hoch-beim* grape is the best known to the English: and when its wines are duly matured by age, they are celebrated by the name of *Old Hock*. It is said that other countries prefer the growth of the *Rbingan*. Whether this preference arises from a kind of necessity, or from the monopoly of these other wines for the consumption of England;—which most readily paying the best prices for a commodity that is reputed the best, leaves no other choice to their neighbours,—or whether the preference arises from a difference of taste, I shall not determine. Much less will I assert that all the *Old Hock* consumed among you can acknowledge the hills of *Hockheim* for its parent.

Of the *Rbingan*, the produce of *Aßmannshausen*,

sen, *Ebrenfels*, and *Rüdesheim*, and the spots adjacent, known by the names of *Haupt-berg*, *Rodtland*, and *Hinterhausen*, are of the *first* class. The numerous vineyards on the hills of Bingen, are also placed among the choicest in the neighbourhood of Rüdesheim. They are of the *Orleans* grape. These hills are in some parts so steep, that manure can be conveyed in no other manner than on the backs of the labourers. The *second* class are the vines of *Geisenheim*, *Rotenberg*, and *Kapellgarten*, spots contiguous. Of the third class are, the *Johannisberg*, and the *Fuldische Schloßberg*. *Johannesberg* excels almost every other place in the *Red Bleker*. But the *Bleker* is not placed in the first class by connoisseurs. Next to the above, the vines of *Hattenheim* and *Marker-brunner* are preferred. Fifthly, those which are cultivated by the Cloyster of *Eberbach*. Sixthly, those of *Kitterich* and *Gräfenberg*. Seventhly, the vines of *Rauenthal* and the adjacent hill.

In the north-west division, the vineyards of *Baccharach*, *Kaub*, and *Oberwezel*, are the most esteemed. The two hills of *Vogtsberg*, and *Küblberg*, adjacent to *Baccharach*, which abound with blue slate, yield a wine that is much admired for its odour and muscadelle flavour. In general those parts which are the most adjacent

to the Rhingan, are supposed to be productive of the finest grapes ; and in proportion as the district advances towards the north, the wines become of an inferior quality ; excepting in particular spots that are highly favoured by nature, or that enjoy unusual cultivation.

The above arrangement marks with sufficient accuracy the degrees of *estimation* ; but who shall determine the degrees of influence which this estimation may have upon the *taste* ? The real difference must be too small, in many instances, for the nicest palate to discriminate ; and in some cases we may admit that the reputed taste of some great Personage, either of an Emperor or an Archbishop, or of some acknowledged Connoisseur, is sufficient to diffuse a flavour over a whole vineyard, or to prove as baneful as the steam of burning sulphur, to the generous fermentation of its juices. Again the single vintage of some fortunate year may raise or depress the reputation of subsequent productions for many seasons. But, with all these allowances for fancy, certain rules are established, which not only theory, but experience and observation will justify. — For example. — The districts situated in the more southern parts, by being exposed to the more genial warmth of the sun, enjoy a more early and more matured grape, than the northern districts. —

districts.—A characteristic difference is also observed in the district of the *Rhingan*, between the vineyards planted on the borders of the Rhine, and those which advance towards the forest of *Landeswald*. It is observed that in dry and sultry seasons, the vineyards proximate to the forest, ripen more kindly than the others; while these have the advantage in more wet and chilly summers. On hills which furnish a heavy soil, composed chiefly of marl and stone, the wines are said to possess the strongest and most durable body; but in soils of a more sandy nature, the wines become more light and volatile. Those hills, enjoying a soil between the two extremes, that furnish a light earth to the vines, without being too sandy, and that sufficiently retain moisture from invigorating showers, without being inundated by them, are supposed to yield the most wholesome wines, which also retain their flavour the longest: and this is eminently the soil of *Hockheim*. On the contrary, when the vineyards are planted in a lower ground, abounding with clay, and retaining chilly damps, they yield an harsh unwholesome juice, which requires several years before it becomes potable:—Those wines possess the finest flavour which are produced from a ground consisting of a mixture of slate, limestone, and red marl.—

Respecting position, the hills which possess a gentle declivity, and that present their surfaces towards the south, yield, in general, the most perfect juices ; yet there are instances where mountains almost too steep for cultivation afford a generous grape, as at Bingen.—Grounds that have been newly cultivated or manured, produce highly flavoured wines, but they are not deemed the most wholesome.

Perhaps there is not a fruit that undergoes more remarkable changes by transplanting from its native soil than the grape ;—that more perfectly adapts itself to its new habitation, in some cases, or that more speedily degenerates in others. The vines of France planted on these borders of the Rhine, soon acquire that tartarous flavour which characterizes the Rhenish grape ; or at least they blend their original characteristic with the peculiarities of the newly adopted region. The great variety of grapes cultivated in the districts we have passed through, illustrates this assertion.

The different species are, *first* the common or the *Riesling* grape, which has been so long in possession of these regions, that it may be deemed a native. This, next to the grape of Orleans, yields the best, the strongest, and the

the earliest wines : *secondly*, the *Orleans* grape, the orange, or red *Burgundy*, and the grape called the *Lambert* : *thirdly*, those which are cultivated in private gardens, more particularly that called *Kleimberger*, (Climbhill) and the muscadelle.

The two first of the kinds specified, seem to be perfectly at home in the *Rhingan*. Every other species, and particularly the *Rulland* grape, degenerates. Among those which prosper, the red *Burgundy* is the foremost. This seems peculiarly adapted to the soil in the neighbourhood of *Asmaunshausen*. It is ripe fourteen days earlier than the *Rieslinge*, which, as it is ready for sale at the autumnal fair of Frankfort, is an advantageous circumstance for the merchant. It will ripen kindly in seasons that are not favourable to other grapes ; nor does the red colour of the husk, communicate the slightest tinge to the juice.

I need not inform a connoisseur, that the criteria of good Rhenish wine are,—an agreeable odour and taste ;—perfect transparency. When *new* the colour is pale. It acquires a deeper hue by age, and very frequently by artifice.—Good Rhenish wine simmers and sparkles while it is pouring into the glass, delighting both the ear and the olfactory nerves of the genuine connoisseur.—If poured *briskly*, a mo-

mentary froth is excited, formed of *small* beads or bubbles, which immediately disappear. If the bubbles continue any time, there is reason to suspect that some saponaceous body has been added.

The prime wines are not cheap at their source. I have already hinted the great respect paid to them by Pope Pius the Second, and the Emperor Venceslas, and other personages. . But you will alledge perhaps that his Holiness improved the quality of the wine, as he could of water, simply by giving it his blessing ; and that Emperors are more liberal in their purchases than a common wine-merchant. Well then, I shall inform you by way of a more accurate specimen, that the wines of Johannisberg are estimated at four thousand guilders the *Stübpafs*, or *Fuder*, at their average price. A fuder contains about eight *obms*, equal to three hundred and sixty gallons. In extraordinary years the price has been double. It is asserted that an English gentleman purchased in the year 1781 a fuder of this Johannisberg of the growth of 1779, for no less a sum than *one thousand guineas*. As the Johannisberg wines are not of the first quality, you may form some idea of the value placed upon the wines of *Rüdesheim* and *Hockheim*. But my information goes no farther.

In addition to the original purchase, the value of Rhenish wines is greatly increased to the consumer by the number of tolls exacted by every distinct potentate, and in every distinct jurisdiction : so that the Princes and Electors, whose territories are detached and scattered along the Rhine, sometimes reiterate their demands. An instance has been given you respecting the Elector of Mentz, who repeats his demand at *Oberlahn stein*, for goods that have already paid tollage at Mentz. From Mentz to *St. Goar*, there are not less than five tolls ; and from *St. Goar* to *Leudesdorf*, near to *Andernach*, there are also five ; that is not less than ten different tolls in the space of about sixty-three English miles. How the vessels may escape from thence to *Cologne*, I know not. It is probable that the demand will be more moderate, as that space is not so divided and sub-divided amongst different masters. But in the whole course of navigation from *Cologne* to *Amsterdam* and *Rotterdam*, the imposition recommences with new vigour. I have been informed that a *Cologne* vessel pays twelve tolls, every trip it makes to or from these places. Each province of *Holland*, and each city in each province being independent of the other, most eagerly exerts these separate acts of sovereignty.

These exactions are different at different places. I have not given myself the trouble of enquiring into minutiae, but that the sum total of such taxes must amount to an enormous height, is obvious from what has already been observed concerning the revenues enjoyed by the Elector of Mentz. Of this revenue, according to *Rüßbeck*, sixty thousand guilders are produced by the general tollage on the Rhine; and one hundred thousand by an excise upon wines alone. Nor must we omit to add the sums consumed in the mode of gathering these taxes, to the net produce obtained by territorial Lords. The place of a Custom-house officer confers no small degree of dignity and importance in the German States, and must of consequence be maintained with a certain eclat. At each Custom-house on the Rhine, there are generally four officers, a clerk, an examiner, a check, and a superintendant. These are in part supported by stipends from their principals; and in part by certain claims on the masters of the vessels. But as these conveyers are obliged to increase the price of freight in proportion, the whole ultimately falls upon the merchandize. In each district the Lord of the manor imposes his own laws and regulations, which it is more difficult to evade with impunity than any laws respecting the

the order of society, or the morals of the subject.

These rights, or rather claims of tollage, commenced at a period when scarcely any other right was known, than that of the *strongest*; when every species of commerce was held in contempt by potentates and subjects, who gloried in being warlike, while they envied the wealth which began to follow commerce. Some of these tolls were imposed by Princes that they might be able to reward their adherents and allies, without distressing their own subjects. It is said that Count *Dietrich von Katzenellenbogen*, first established a Custom-house at Saint Goar, in the year 1300, to recompence his followers for their spirited defence of Rheinfels, that was besieged for the space of 14 months without success: and it is well known that Charles the Fifth imposed many taxes upon merchandizes in order to oppress the Hansetowns, of whose increasing wealth, and consequently increasing power, he was extremely jealous.

Now a spirit of commerce begins to be more diffused through Germany, and there are many cities where *Ein Kauffmann* possessing property begins to be respected almost as much as a Prince who has none, the complaint against these impositions is becoming general. That they

they are exorbitant is universally acknowledged; that they are very injurious to commerce is the general complaint: but as they are so kneaded with, and moulded into the system of finance; as potentates will not be disposed to relinquish the present schemes of their wealth, without some substitute; and as no substitute can be devised that would not be unpopular, by oppressing the subject in order to relieve strangers, this is an abuse which we are not to expect will be speedily removed.

Notwithstanding the picturesque scenes which such numerous vineyards present to view:— notwithstanding the pleasant ideas of luxurious conviviality they excite, they are by no means the primary blessings of a country. The axiom is founded in observation, that poverty is most prevalent where the vine is most cultivated. Bacchus, whatever joviality he may occasion, has not the benevolence of Ceres; although by exhilarating the spirits, he may for a season conceal the distress he occasions. Wine is a luxury which cannot furnish either food or raiment to the peasant, and the real necessities of life are always the dearest where this superfluity becomes the chief article of attention and of commerce. They are purchased as *foreign* commodities, and
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consequently at an advanced price. It is also to be observed that no species of commerce is more precarious than the juice of the vine. The *delicacy* of these wines constitutes all their value, and this delicacy depends upon so many contingencies, that the hopes of the cultivator, and of all his dependents are perpetually disappointed. A series of bad years being so detrimental to the proprietor, he has no other method of securing himself, than by giving small wages to the husbandman; and the husbandman is reduced to a state bordering upon absolute want, in every unfavourable season.

LETTER LIII.

From Coblenz to Neuwied.

ALTHOUGH the vociferations of the honest boatman on the second morning of our passage, did not sound so musically to our ears as on the preceding ; and our animal spirits, fatigued by unusual exertions, would have rejoiced in a little more indulgence, yet we immediately obeyed his command. We rose with all expedition, took a hasty breakfast, and placed ourselves in the boat before the dial of an adjacent monastery, reflecting the rays that were darted upon it, through the fissure of a mountain, had pointed at the hour of six.

Some general idea of the country from Andernach to Coblenz has been given you in a former letter ; and it was remarked that the receding hills spread themselves out into a spacious amphitheatre, surrounding an extensive and fertile plain. You will have perceived also, from the descriptions given of the tract of country
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from Mentz to Coblentz, that after we had been inclosed for several miles between the mountains, we again obtained an enlargement, upon our arrival at Coblentz, the scene opening into this plain in an opposite direction. Let me now add, that the Rhine manifests his preference to the hills which skirt the eastern and north-eastern horizons; and that in his course to Neuwied, and from thence to Andernach, numerous villages, monasteries, convents, and castles totally dismantled, half repaired or modernized, shew their grateful attachment to this majestic river, by placing themselves on each side of his borders, as close as possible to his benevolent stream. Some indeed, covetous of his waters, take possession of fertile islands, and thus enjoy the advantage of a double current.

I shall enumerate the principal of these, give you their characteristics, but not detain you with minute descriptions.

If time and patience would allow me, I could justly celebrate the praises of *Schoenbergslust*, a rural palace, belonging to the Elector of Treves, that is adjacent to the city on the left borders of the river; and also the smart village of *Neuendorf*, contrasted by the impoverished *Orber*, on the opposite shore.—I could point out to you at a single glance of the eye, three
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convents, the one placed at *Wallerstein*, the other upon the island, and in the centre of the village of *Niederworth*, and the third at *Besslich*, contiguous to the eastern border. These are so near to each other, and in such a direction, that the devout nuns, frequently and without any peculiar efforts of voice relieve each other in the responses of their morning and evening services.—Were we to stop at the village of *Vallendar*, by the side of a rivulet on the right hand, you might contemplate various manufactories, of wool-dyeing, dressing of leather, pipe-making, and also an extensive *pottery*. Concerning the last article I shall just observe, that at this village and some others in the vicinity of Coblenz, are made the earthen ware which is distinguished among us by the name of *Keulsch* or *Cologne* ware. It is made of a coarse sandy earth. The vessels are of various sizes and shapes, according to their destined use, but they are all of an antique form, slightly glazed, painted of a light blue, and uncouthly ornamented with deeper shades of the same colour. These are the utensils that make so conspicuous a figure in many of the Dutch and Flemish paintings. They strike you the more forcibly with the venerable appearance of antiquity, as they are no longer in use among you; but they
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are still preferred on account of their cheapness, by the good housewives in Germany, and also in the Dutch villages. Persons of a higher rank among us have dismissed them from their parlours, into their kitchens and pantries. With all these advantages of art, *Vallendar* enjoys many of nature's blessings. The vineyards thrive sufficiently to give excellent beverage to the inhabitants; the situation is salubrious, and the prospects from the hills extensive and delightful.—Leading you by *Kesselheim*, *Sebastian Enger*, *Kalten Enger*, as our boat passes that way, I shall simply point out to you their numerous orchards which are in these places substituted for vineyards:—By casting your eye over the river you may distinguish *Bendorf*, *Mullenbofen*, and the venerable castle of *Sayn*. *Bendorf* requires some attention on account of an iron foundry, which employs a multitude of hands; and that it is in a flourishing state, is apparent from the number of neat and comfortable dwellings, placed among some that rise to respectability, and are adorned with gardens. Roman Catholics, Lutherans, and Protestants, unite harmoniously in the different occupations of the foundry, without the least quarrel concerning differences in religion. Not a single stroke of the hammer is aimed at popery, nor
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do any of the furnaces glow for the conversion of hereticks. At *Mullenbafen*, my friend, the Rhine, receives no inconsiderable tribute from the river Sayn, that collecting the rivulets from the adjacent mountains, pays in their respective treasures to the Sovereign, with greater fidelity than is known among collectors in general.

Romendorf, although it is situated about two miles from the river, is not to be passed by in silence. Its name indicates that it was formerly a Roman village; and this idea is confirmed by many coins found in its neighbourhood, bearing the inscriptions of Julius Cæsar, Marcus Aurelius, Constantine, Agrippina, &c. Two columns also, formed according to the Roman stile of architecture, have been dug out of the side of an adjacent hill. Julius Cæsar is supposed to have thrown a bridge over the Rhine at this place, when he passed into Germany, in order to convince the Sicambri that the Rhine was not the boundary of his victories, and to protect the Ubii from their oppressors, as he relates in the fourth book of his Gallic War. If you turn to *Juria's* edition of that work, you may contemplate the model of a bridge thrown over the Rhine for the above purpose.

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This great diversity of interesting objects awakened the attention and roused the spirits of the whole company. Many of these objects confirmed the truth of an observation made in my preceding letter, that the culture of the vine does not furnish the most advantageous employment for the industrious poor; nor produce plenty where it is the chief article of commerce. The number of neat and comfortable dwellings perceivable in every village in this district, and the general appearance of competency, furnished a striking contrast to most of the villages in the *Rhingan*. Many observations were made by our ingenious companions of a moral, religious, and political nature, which I shall not repeat, as their chief merit consisted in being pertinent at the time. I was pleased with the pious effusions of our fair songstresses, who read aloud the translation of Pope's Universal Prayer, which I mentioned upon a former occasion. No matin service could have been better adapted to our situation.

Passing by the *Gute Mann* and the *Weissen Thurm*, which it is said was built to mark the boundaries of the two Electorates, Treves and Cologne, our boatman crossed over to the northern

northern border, and landed us at *Neuweid*, between the hours of eight and nine.

The pleasing appearance of Neuweid, when viewed at a distance, has been already noticed. I must confess that this distant view excites the idea of greater beauty than a nearer approach will authorise; yet it is a neat and comely town. It is not surrounded by walls, which is a very unusual circumstance in a country where every place above the title of a village, has its fortification:—It is built with great regularity; the streets are straight and broad, intersecting each other at right angles. The houses are neat, but none of them are splendid, excepting the palace of the Prince. The churches and other public buildings possess no other ornament, than what a simple and decent stile of architecture naturally gives to larger edifices.

The name of this town is properly Neu-Weid, or New Weid; and it derives the appellation from its being a modern city compared with every other adjacent to the Rhine; and also in the principality of Weid. The ancestors of the present Prince of Weid were formerly among the richest Princes of Germany; and some of that House have arisen to the dignity of Electors, but a large share of property and much political influence have been lost in consequence of their
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embracing the Protestant faith. Their possessions are now reduced to two boroughs exclusive of this city, and between forty and fifty villages.

It is chiefly to the sacrifice made to a good conscience, that the flourishing state of the city may justly be ascribed. Alexander the first of the Protestant line, found it necessary to improve his diminished fortunes : and he had the wisdom to connect the happiness of his people with his own pecuniary interest. He gave every encouragement in his power to every object of industry ; invited strangers to establish themselves under his jurisdiction, by making very advantageous proposals ; and instead of suffering himself to be embittered by the ill-treatment he had experienced, he freely tolerated that religion which had persecuted him. His successors, following an example in which justice and wisdom, private interest and public welfare, are eminently united, have happily rendered this city a flourishing colony of artists. The number of inhabitants amounts to between six and seven thousand. It has been considerably upon the increase since the year 1762, and it now contains a number of artisans and manufacturers in almost every branch. Watch and clock-makers, fadlers, cabinet-makers, *iron-founders*

and smiths, manufacturers of shammy, of cotton, and of paper-hangings, turners, shoemakers, potters, plumbers, chandlers, &c. &c. It possesses also a printing-office, which from the freedom granted to the press, is rising into considerable repute.





View of C. Vened.

LETTER LIV.

Neuweid.

THE present Prince of Neuweid, in imitation of his ancestors, is the friend and father of his people. Every plan is adopted to render them industrious and happy :—not only is every species of manufactory encouraged, but every religious sect enjoys full toleration. Jews, Hernhutters, or Moravians, Catholicks, Lutherans, and Protestants, are permitted to worship the one Universal Father, each in his own manner, and are thus habituated to consider themselves as brethren. Being children of the same parent, subjects of the same moral government, candidates alike for a future state, they are taught to reflect, that the articles in which they agree, are of infinitely greater importance than those in which they differ ; and that the minutiae of speculative opinions cannot annihilate the primary duty of brotherly love. The *Protestant* is the established religion ; but, as far as we could learn,

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it had no other external privilege, than that of tolling the bell to church; and the different sectaries, instead of being disconcerted at the sound, regulate the hours of their worship also by its summons.

Several instances were given us of the beneficence of this Prince, and his paternal attention to the welfare of his subjects, but I shall only mention the following:—As he was taking a walk with his family, he stopped at the workshop of a smith, who was standing inactive before his door. “Whence comes it (says the Prince), that I have not heard the sound of your hammers of late?” “Alas, Sir, I have no iron, and a loss I sustained the last week, has deprived me of the means to procure some.” “How much iron can you work up in a week?” “To the value of about ten crowns.” “Well (answered the Prince), I shall enquire whether this be a fact, or whether you tell me a falsehood to excuse your indolence.” The Prince, upon enquiry, was convinced of the truth of the smith’s assertion, and he sent him the ten crowns the day following. The smith purchased the requisite materials: joy and gratitude gave such unusual strength to his arm, that the strokes of his hammer were heard much farther than usual.

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The Hernhutters at Neuweid, are about 450 in number. This sect sets an example of industry, sobriety, and peaceable conduct; they obtained permission to establish themselves at this place, in the year 1750; and in the year 1756, they built a fraternity in the same manner as at Zuyft; here they reside as long as they continue celibates, and are engaged in various kinds of business. Numerous shops are also arranged, as at Zuyft, on each side of a gallery, where almost every article of a personal and domestic nature, either for use or ornament, may be purchased; also various toys, for the amusement or instruction of children. We were conducted through these different shops by one of the fraternity, in a very obliging manner, and each of us purchased a something by way of indemnification for the trouble we had given.

Among the numerous arts and manufactories at Neuweid, which merit the attention of an inquisitive traveller, if his time will permit, the works of two artists are more particularly recommended to his notice. The cabinet-work of Mr. Röntchen, under the direction of his foreman, Mr. Kraus; and the clock-work of Mr. Kinzing, a watch-maker. Röntchen is deemed one of the most ingenious artists on the Continent, in his particular department; and he is

said to excell both in taste and execution. Most of the German Princes, whose finances will admit, purchase some article or other of their elegant furniture from Röntchen. We saw a specimen of his art at Coblenz, in the Elector's cabinet. It was a writing-desk, curiously inlaid with various kinds of the finest wood: it had cost an hundred louis d'ors. Upon the recommendation of our attendant at Coblenz, we determined to pay this artist a visit upon our return to Neuweid. But we were disappointed in the pleasure we had promised ourselves, and our travelling companions. Mr. Röntchen, and his chief workman, were on their way to Peterburgh, with a large assortment of furniture, destined for the Empress of Russia; and we were informed, that not a piece remained that was worthy of being presented to a stranger.

At Kinzing's we were more fortunate. This very ingenious mechanic shewed us several pieces of clock-work, that manifested unremitting application, as well as skill. The most striking and popular, was a clock, which to the many useful excellencies it possesses, is furnished with a set of barrel chimes, that play to the extent of twelve pleasing and elegant tunes; and each tune upon the bells, is accompanied by the music of a dulcimer, with the greatest accuracy: the
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hammers of the dulcimer are put into motion by the same machinery which plays the chimes. This man was an artist from his childhood. At the age of fifteen, he had finished a pendulum clock, which was much admired for its neatness and accuracy. His talents were, in part, hereditary : his father, though a miller by trade, used to employ his leisure hours in mechanics ; and he made clocks for his own amusement, without having received any particular instruction. From him the son acquired a taste for this branch of mechanism, and learned the practical parts of the business, which he has now brought to such a degree of perfection.

Whoever contemplates the rapid progress which the arts are making in different parts of the Continent, respecting elegance of design, improved workmanship, and increased demand, he will be induced to conclude, that England cannot always maintain that decided superiority in its arts and manufactures, which it at present enjoys. It does not require a spirit of prophecy to foresee, that the period must arrive, in which this mighty fabric of artificial greatness will fall into ruins ; and dreadful must be the fall ! One observation, however, which I have had frequent opportunities of making since I have resided upon the Continent, affords some consolation, as
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it removes the evil at a greater distance than might have been at first imagined. As long as you are able to maintain that reputation you have justly acquired, either respecting cheapness or execution, you are deriving considerable advantage from these efforts of continental artists, to rival your workmanship. Happily, a spirit of emulation takes place, at the same time, among purchasers and consumers, which operates more extensively in your favour for the present, than the other can possibly to your detriment. To illustrate my observation, I remark, since my residence in Holland, that the Dutch have made great advances in the elegance of their furniture in general; but I shall confine myself to the two articles of cabinet-work and of carpets. Formerly, these were luxuries, to be found alone in the houses of the principal merchants, or persons of distinction; they are now in the lodgings of their clerks and dependants. Very respectable citizens, who were, about five-and-twenty years ago, happy to inherit the antiquated chairs, tables, and large family chests of their ancestors, and who covered the floors of their best apartments with homely mats, would now blush at not being in the fashion. The general taste for elegance has awakened their ambition, not to be excelled, or not to be equalled by those, who
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are, in other respects, their inferiors. Their floor-mats are destined to protect their fruit-trees from nipping frosts, and Wilton carpets are substituted in their place. The antiquated furniture is exposed to public sale, and *you* enjoy a large share of the commissions to replace them with modern elegance. Thus, notwithstanding the number of artists are daily upon the increase, and are to be met with in all our principal towns, yet the taste for superior elegance increases in such a proportion, that you are, and will continue to be considerable gainers upon the whole, as long as you can support your reputation as superior artists.

The situation of Neuweid is well chosen for the plan of the Regent. The general invitation that was given to strangers in the year 1762, by a public advertisement, does not exaggerate, when it asserts, that the air is salubrious, and the country fertile as well as beautiful to the eye; that it abounds with flesh, fish, poultry, game, vegetables, and fruits of various kinds; that its hills furnish wines, particularly the *Blecker*, in great abundance; that its proximity to the river, and its vicinity to the cities of Bonn, Coblentz, Mentz, and Franckfort, affords a ready exportation for the manufactures of the place,

place, and as ready a supply for foreign articles. It further assures those who are disposed to build, that a piece of ground, competent to their plan, shall be given *gratis*; that the taxes are extremely moderate, and immutably fixed, according to the value of their habitations; and that every stranger who shall build a house of *stone*, may claim exemption from this tax for the space of fifteen years, and *ten* years for a house of timber; and that they shall be at perfect liberty to quit the place, without being subjected to any fine or imposition whatever*.

To judge from external appearance, and also from the representation of those who have en-

* If the reader wishes for a more ample account of this city, or of the principality of Weid, he may consult *Le Voyage sur le Rhin*, mentioned in a former letter. The author of that work informs us, that he took refuge here from the ministerial despotism of France: he mentions the protection he has received, with the warmest gratitude, and gives a circumstantial and interesting description of a place where he enjoys such perfect security. The writer of these letters cannot forbear expressing his sorrow at the information he has lately received, that the Prince of Neuweid, induced by the love of that liberty he wishes to *diffuse* as well as to *enjoy*, and seduced by too favourable ideas of the wisdom and benevolence of modern French politics, has been discovered in carrying on a secret correspondence with the National Convention, which has exposed him to the resentment of the Germanic Powers.

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joyed the best opportunity of knowing, the inhabitants of Neuweid may be said to form one numerous and contented family. Industry, good order, morality and religion, are respected; and vice never makes an accidental appearance without exciting indignation, and feeling a blush. The city is sufficiently large for all the purposes of brisk trade; but not so populous as to conceal or encourage immoralities. The enjoyments of the inhabitants are not of the most gay and lively kind; they chiefly consist in health, peace, and competence. This place affords no room for the restlessness of ambition, no place for specious eloquence, no opportunity for the exertion of those talents which have personal distinctions, or the lust of power for their object. It affords little encouragement for the display of fruitless imagination, nor would it reward with its approbation, that class of ideas which shine like a meteor for the moment, without diffusing permanent light, or producing substantial good. But every hint that can be shapen into form for the comfort or elegancies of life; every idea that is the prototype of a something to be realized, is fostered and protected with care and with success.

If we contemplate this community at Neuweid, in a political point of view, it affords an
example

example and a lesson, for both Princes and people. It demonstrates that under a wise and good government, the real influence and substantial happiness of the superior, are rendered permanent, or rather *progressive*, by the progressive prosperity of the subject. It proves, that subjects will be most disposed to obedience, where they are firmly convinced that their principal is actuated by an unremitted attention to their welfare. It proves, that respectful obedience to wise and equal laws, is the source of tranquil enjoyment, and the cement of society; and it manifests, that subjects, at large, are infinitely more satisfied, and enjoy a greater portion of happiness, where they exercise a due confidence in their superiors, whose political knowledge must exceed their own, than if every man was to become his own legislator, or to be engaged in the pursuit of that species of liberty, which is mostly accompanied with the latent desire of becoming his neighbour's sovereign; that is more eager to possess *power* than to possess competent knowledge, wisdom, and benevolence, to give it a proper direction.

LETTER LV.

Neuweid, Andernach, Bonn.

IN my last letter, I gave you a general account of the present state of *Neuweid*, according to information received upon the spot, or in the course of our journey. Since our return, several discoveries have been made in the vicinity of this place, of no small importance to lovers of antiquity. As every singularity that relates to a place we have visited with pleasure, and for which we have contracted an esteem, naturally excites our curiosity, I have made some enquiry concerning these discoveries, and I shall suspend my journal for a few minutes, in order to communicate the result for your own amusement, or that of your friends.

In the summer of the year ninety-one, as some labourers were digging in a field adjacent to the village of *Niederbieber*, which is distant about
three

three miles from Neuweid, they discovered several remains of antiquity, which induced the hereditary Princess of Neuweid to make further researches at her own expence, and it has been with the most fortunate issue. Exclusive of many silver and copper coins, various utensils, and small figures in bronze, they found the remains of a regular Roman building. As they were clearing this building from the rubbish that adhered to it, they discovered a small statue in one of the walls. This, exclusive of the pedestal, is about a foot in height, of gilt bronze, and unimpaired. The statue represents a genius, that holds a cornucopia in his left hand, and in his right a censer: on his head is placed a turret; he rests upon one foot, the other is somewhat bent. Near to the statue were found five quadrangular plates, of the same metal, which manifestly belonged to the pedestal. Two of these were without inscriptions, and consequently may be supposed to have been destined for the back part, and upper surface of the pedestal. On the other three were the following inscriptions:—

I. SALUSTIUS.

I.

SATULLUS
 SATARRA
 MACRINUS
 LAETUS
 APOLLINARIS
 SECUNDANUS
 URSUS.

II.

PATERNUS
 PRUDENS
 MARIANUS
 DACOVASSUS
 CEREALIS
 ATURO
 VICTOR.

III.

IN H. D. D. BAIOLI
 ET VEXILLARI COL
 LEGIO VICTORIEN
 SIUM SIGNIFER
 ORUM GENIUM D.
 VIII. KAL. OCTOBR.
 PRESENTE ET ALBINO
 COS
 H. XIII. D. S. R.

Lieutenant Engineer *Hofmann*, who instructs the hereditary Prince of Neuweid in the different branches of philosophy, has communicated these discoveries to the Hofrath Heyne of Göttingen, a gentleman deeply versed in the science of antiquities. Mr. Hofmann conjectures from the letters, *IN H. D. D. in honorem domus divini*, that the statue was placed in a temple contiguous

to the building, and that the names inscribed upon No. 1 and 2. are those of the *Baioli* and *Vexillari*, who had erected the statue. But his learned friend objects, that *domus divina* does not always indicate a temple: it is applied to every stately building, and is frequently synonymous with *domus augusta*.

Animated by these discoveries, they pursued their enquiries with double diligence, and with the most desirable success. Besides smaller articles with which the Princess is daily enriching her cabinet, after the labour of several months, they have indisputably traced the ruins of a Roman city;—fragments of city walls;—public and private baths;—the vestiges of an aqueduct, 313 feet in length, communicating with several smaller pipes. Six Calidaria, or bathing-rooms, are already cleared, and their particular construction investigated. One of these baths rests upon more than an hundred regular columns of brick: on most of these columns are ornamental carvings, some of a round, others of an oblong form: some have the figure of a rose, with the following inscription:—*LEO. VIII. AVG. LEO. XXI. LEO. XXII. COH. IV. Vindel.* Several other images have also been found, besides that of the Genius abovementioned—as a *Jupiter fulminans*, *Victoria Gradiens*, *Diana Venatrix*, a *Mercury*.

Mercury, &c. all in bronze; and another Genius of free-stone, similar to the preceding. This is imperfect; but the lower part of a cornucopia is observable in the left hand, and the inscriptions, as far as they can be traced, are the same as the former. The coins that have been found, extend from the time of *Tiberius* to *Gallinus*, comprehending a space of about two ages and an half.

From these documents, Mr. Heyne naturally concludes, that this was one of the Roman cities, which historians have asserted to have been built beyond the Rhine, and as illustrative of several passages in their writings; particular of Vobiscus and Eutropius. The former says*, that the Romans placed *urbes validas, nobiles, divites & potentes trans Rbenum*; and, in his life of Probus, he informs us, that he *urbes Romanas, & castra, in solo barbarico posuit; atque illic milites collocavit*. Eutropius† also, speaking of Ulpian Trajanus Crinitus, observes, that *urbes trans Rbenum in Germania reparavit*. Mr. Hoffman supposes, that this was first a place of encampment, which was succeeded by a city; upon the walls of which, the towers may, in some places, be traced.

* Vobisc. in Prob. c. 13. † Eutrop. lib. viii. c. 2.

Mr. Heyne conjectures, that this was one of the Roman cities that was taken and destroyed by the victorious Germans, and that the event took place towards the end of the third century. I am informed that Lieutenant Hoffman is engaged in preparing a circumstantial account of these discoveries for the press, which is to be illustrated with plates.

Now to my Journal. We returned to our boat about eleven o'clock, and pursued our course towards Andernach, passing by more villages than I have time or inclination to particularize, and some country seats: the one has the singular name of Teufelshause, the Devil's house, so called, from a supposition of the ignorant and credulous, that it is haunted: it was formerly a hunting seat of the Prince's ancestors. As we approached to Andernach, a segment of the amphitheatre, already mentioned, presented itself to view in full majesty. The mountains collected themselves together on each side of the narrow passage we were about to enter, in order to compel the waters to form a deeper channel; they aimed at a regular arrangement, and in great measure succeeded; but the more remote claimed a haughty pre-eminence over those in the front: these, however, smiled in their humility;

- militancy; for those on our right hand were mantled with vines; those on our left with the umbrageous forest, and they left the proud summits of their neighbours, to expose both their poverty and their pride.

At the commencement of my journey, you were made acquainted with the Rhine in its retirement and disgrace: during the course of my journey, I have attempted to pay due honours to his majestic serenity and dignified benevolence. I ought not to close without giving you some specimens of his terrors. I have long been watching for an opportunity, but he never gave me provocation; for, excepting his little pets and restless foamings, when teased and opposed by impertinent rocks and shoals, he has always shewn himself in a chearful or in a placid humour. We had hitherto contemplated him, patiently bearing heavy burdens upon his surface, diffusing fertility over adjacent meadows; beautifying landscapes with his diversified and meandering forms; but he had never swoln into tremendous fury, nor spread desolation around him. However, that he is well capable of this, the following facts will abundantly testify:—

In severe and frosty winters, the Rhine is frozen over to an amazing thickness: more

than once have I skated upon its surface, and through the chasms formed by the explosion of confined air, have I seen the rapid current flowing under my feet. When a general thaw commences, the effects are sometimes dreadful ! snow dissolving on the numberless mountains of the south ; the waters of the Rhine itself, and of all the inferior rivers in the more southern regions, being let loose at a much earlier period than in the more northern countries, torrents of water roll over the surfaces that remain unthawed, are congealed, and thus increase the volume of frozen water. The large masses of ice also, which are loosened in the warmer climates, and descend with the current, meet with various obstructions, particularly at the angles of the river, and accumulate until they form a most tremendous body ; they frequently break through the most massy dykes, and inundate the adjacent lands ; they sometimes rise as high as mountains, and destroy the houses and buildings that are within the reach of their fury.

The most striking instances of this nature that have happened since my residence in Holland, were in the winter months of the years 1783 and 1784. By a partial thaw, which took place in December 1783, a dyke between Rhenen and Nimeguen was broken through, and the whole
of

of the Beteuve soon became a lake, with the tops of trees, and roofs of houses, just appearing above its surface. Fortunately, the inhabitants were apprized of their danger in time to save themselves, and to drive off most of their cattle. What injuries they suffered, were greatly alleviated by the liberal contributions of the opulent province of Holland. But the grand thaw commencing towards the latter end of February, in 1784, was much more destructive in its consequences. In many parts contiguous to the Rhine, dwelling-houses and public edifices, were injured or destroyed. Much damage was done to the city of Emmerick, in the vicinity of Cleves; but Cologne and Mulheim, on the opposite side of the river, suffered the more violent attacks of this irresistible enemy. At Cologne, a great part of the city walls on the side of the Rhine, were battered down; all the cranes upon the quay were demolished; several of the Cologne vessels, described in a former letter, were sunk, and a number of houses adjacent to the Rhine-port, were first sapped at their foundations by the swell of the waters, and then overturned by columns of ice. At Mulheim, the effects were yet more dreadful: one hundred and sixty-two houses were thrown down, and buried under these mountains of frozen water, and nearly an

equal number were essentially damaged. The Lutheran church, which was a new, and not an inelegant building, was mostly destroyed: its turrets, however, escaped, which the pious gratitude of the inhabitants most laudably considered as a singular providence; for several hundred persons had taken refuge in these turrets, against their gigantic foe. About fifty lives were lost, either by the inundation, or by falling edifices. Such scenes prepare the mind to believe the narratives of incidents, which it would otherwise be difficult to explain. I was assured by a friend, who resides at Amarougen, adjacent to Zuylestein, that he saw, in this remarkable winter, a coach with horses, floating down the river on an island of ice; and, that another person saw an infant lying in a cradle, borne among several articles of furniture, winding-stairs, and other wrecks of houses, with the utmost rapidity down the stream. It was also asserted, that a gentleman attempting to pass the river upon a piece of floating ice, with his wife and mother under his protection, it began to sink under their weight, and that he was obliged to sacrifice his aged parent, that they might not all perish together.

I mentioned these instances of the impetuosity of the Rhine, and of the dismay and miseries he sometimes

sometimes occasions, as we were advancing towards Andernach, while the river was in a most placid state, and appeared destitute of every motion, excepting what was given it by the oars of our bargemen. The professor's lady could scarcely credit my narrative. She did not think it possible that any thing, *not human*, could be justly accused of such a contrariety in character and conduct. But the fair inhabitant of Mentz, and her husband, supported my credit, by reciting several instances of a similar nature that had happened at different periods, in the vicinity of Mentz. I attempted to efface every unfavourable impression, by assuring the lady that these excesses were seldom so tremendous; but that they were always beneficial, and that the Rhine, like the Nile, fertilized every land it inundated.

Our company now began to think that it was time to take some refreshment. We had breakfasted early and hastily, and the ramble of two hours had assisted digestion even more than we could have wished; we had, however, again provided a competency of ham, chickens, wine, &c. &c. and we thought ourselves as much entitled, after the exertions of the morning, to regale ourselves with a *dejeuné d'innétoir*, as any prince

prince or potentate upon the face of the earth. The boatman's wife spread our table for us, and acted the part of *Hebe*,—

Nor was will wanting to the sweet repast ;—

if you will allow me to repeat a phrase the second time, which my original has repeated at every meal, both of gods and men.

Previous to our repast, the Doctor's lady hummed a few chearful tunes ; they were infinitely more grateful in our ears than those select bands of music which attend the banquets of the great, and the *tables d' bôte* of most publicans on the Continent ; and which, like Canary birds, raise their notes in exact proportion as the company raise their voices, until it becomes a direct contest which shall predominate. At table, we discoursed on what we had seen, with various comments. The Hernhutters seemed to have principally attracted the notice of our fair companions. The young doctresses did not approve of the distinction of dress enjoined upon the married and unmarried females among them ; and she thought it a great severity to have their choice of a companion for life, under the immediate direction of those who were under no obligation to live with him. The professor's lady was particularly pleased with the neatness and order that universally prevailed in the society ;
and

and the professor made some pertinent remarks upon that passion for being commemorated, which manifested itself even among these unambitious people, by the initials of the names that were carved on the unadorned grave-stones in their burying-ground.

But who to dull forgetfulness a prey ;

This pleasing, anxious being, e'er resigns ;

Leaves the warm precincts of the cheerful day ;

Nor casts one longing, lingering look behind ?

After the repast, we amused ourselves with examining the purchases we had made. Our fair musician hummed over, with great eagerness, some new airs she had bought. Your humble servant had, in two minutes, all the world before him, which he took out of a box, and spread upon the table. To speak more intelligibly, I had purchased as a present to a young friend, maps of the four quarters of the world, divided into a number of sections, that every part may be arranged and disturbed at pleasure. But, alas ! my dear Sir, what disasters await those who boast of extensive territories ! While I was amusing myself with these vast possessions, in a much more innocent manner than might be expected from the generality of mankind, if they had the world at command, a sudden shock of the boat against a float of timber, made a terrible

rible earthquake in our little cabin, and shook the whole creation. Whimsical changes immediately took place. Great-Britain and Ireland got across the Rhine—Sicily was buried under the continent of Africa—the leg of a chicken perched upon the prayer-book of our musical devotee—and a morsel of ham sprung back again into Westphalia:—the great South-sea would have been drowned by the oversetting of a glass of Bleker, if a slice of bread had not fortunately formed a dyke against the inundation. In a word, Europe, Asia, and Africa, were thrown into the utmost confusion, and several of the American provinces fell into my left boot.

This accident, however, has jogged my memory, and reminded me of my promise to give you some account of one of these floats, which I shall perform in my next letter. At present, I shall only add, by the time our consternation was appeased, we found ourselves before the gates of *Andernach*.





View of Andernach ascending the Rhine.

Painted by J. M. W. Turner, 1808.

LETTER LVI.

From Andernach to Bonn.

VARIOUS, and even opposite, are the methods of acquiring renown. *Neuwied* values itself upon its being the most *modern* city upon the Rhine, and *Andernach*, because it is one of the most *ancient*. The mouldering ruins of their churches and monasteries, are exhibited by the inhabitants with a satisfaction equal to that of an antiquarian, who points at the rust upon a coin as an incontestible mark of its great antiquity. Andernach was a flourishing city in the year 1120; but when, and by whom it was built, I am not able to inform you: it was formerly a city of the Empire; it now, belongs to the Elector of Cologne. Although it is most advantageously situated for commerce, yet ancient prejudices and attachment to ancient customs, keep the inhabitants indolent and poor. It seems that the tomb of the Emperor Valentine, whose remains were deposited in one of their parochial churches,

churches, and of a child that called Barbarossa his father, inspire them with more pride than the most magnificent buildings could produce, which commerce might erect.

Julius Cæsar passed over the Rhine at this place, when he conducted his victorious arms against the Suabians, and it was here that Drusus erected one of those fifty castles which were placed on the borders of the Rhine, in the days of Augustus.

It is a pity that the inhabitants are destitute of the spirit of commerce. Such riches of nature either surround or float to them! wines, grain, mineral waters, timber, mill-stones, and tuf, are obviously disposed to give them the preference, and merely solicit to be transported by them to other regions.

Andernach is the place where smaller floats of timber, conveyed from the forests adjacent to the Rhine, the Neckar, the Main, Moselle, &c. are assembled, to be formed into greater floats: some of these are immensely large. I am assured that they are not less than from seven to eight hundred feet in length; from one hundred to one hundred and fifty in breadth, and from five to seven feet in thickness, or depth: they draw about four feet of water. We were not so fortunate as to meet with any of these on our journey:

journey : it must have been a very amusing spectacle. The larger masses of timber convey the idea of a floating village. From sixty to eighty wooden tenements are built upon them for the accommodation of about five hundred persons, who are either employed to navigate this stupendous mass, or to administer to the necessities of the immediate navigators. The superintendant, and inferior officers, have very convenient apartments, and some approach to elegance. Slaughter-houses, stalls for cattle, magazines for provisions, make also a conspicuous figure among the more humble buildings. Where the current is rapid, and in a favourable direction, they commit themselves entirely to it. At other times, several hundred men are engaged in rowing. Each of the larger floats is also furnished with about thirty anchors of various sizes, by which they direct the course of the timber, and prevent it from striking against the shore, particularly at the acuter turns and windings of the river : about twelve or fourteen boats, laden with these anchors and the requisite cordage, are attached to this mass, to be in readiness as occasion may require. Many of these floats are destined for Holland : ten or twelve of them annually arrive at the city of *Dort* ; sometimes they are many weeks, and even months, upon
3 their

their passage, and, when the water is very low, they are obliged to wait for rains to swell the river, as sailors wait for favourable winds: but they generally arrive at Dort in the months of July and August. Here the wholesale timber-merchants break them up, and dispose of them to inferior traders. As the men are nourished at the expence of their chief, their wages are but small, and when they are dismissed, each receives a ducat to bear his expences home. The hire of different pilots, German and Dutch, that are acquainted with the channel of the river, amounts to about two thousand guilders. It is said, that these floats furnish too favourable an opportunity for a contraband trade in Selzer water and Rhenish wines, to be neglected. Cavities are formed in different parts of the mass, that elude the keenest inspection of all the custom-house officers, on their passage.

Another article, which might be a source of considerable wealth to the inhabitants of Andernach, is the tuf-stone (*lapis tophaceus*). This is diffused in immense quantities over the whole of these regions, from the *Weiffenburm* to Bonn, and the country beyond it, and also to a considerable distance north-east and south-west of the Rhine.

The

The tuf-stone is used for various purposes. The harder sort are shaped into mill-stones; those which are less compact, are used for buildings. The tuf-stone ground into a fine powder, and mixed with a due proportion of lime, forms a hard and durable cement, which is not only employed in Germany by way of mortar, but for the floors of their houses. Numberless vessels laden with these stones, are annually transported to Holland to repair their dykes. Baron de Hupsh has written a very philosophical treatise upon the tuf-stone that is found in the neighbourhood of Andernach. He considers it as a volcanic production, a species of pumice-stone or imperfect lava: he describes the different sorts of it, and assists the natural philosopher to arrange it systematically in his cabinet. The Baron maintains, that many of the *sarcophagi* of the Romans were formed of this stone,

The tuf-stone, slate, and the basalt, seem principally to compose the immense mass of mountains that extend from Andernach to Bonn. The basalt, you know, is a hard, ponderous, dusky stone, a species of *touch-stone*, of a regular form and smooth surface: it has the most artificial appearance of any mineral production; it seems to have been hewn out by nature's hands,

with an unusual attention to order: the form of the basalt is different; some are prismatic, others polygon, consisting of five, six, sometimes seven or eight surfaces; generally, one surface of the basalt is convex, or concave, to correspond with the convexity or concavity of the adjacent stones. The Giant's Causeway, in Ireland, is an aggregation of basalt. Mineralogists are not agreed concerning the manner in which this production of nature is formed; some imagine it to be a calm deposition, and regular crystallization of earthy matter, from its menstruum; others consider it as volcanic, as a kind of granite that cools after it has been in fusion, and crystallizes in such regular masses. Not to observe, that it is difficult to explain why this regularity should take place in the refrigeration of one species of earth that has been in a state of fusion more than of any other; or why so much regularity should take place at one period, and such total confusion at another, a late very curious discovery seems decisive in favour of the former opinion. Messrs. Von Humboldt and Von Geuns, in a mineralogical tour they made along the Rhine, in the year 1789, have found a basalt in the fissures of the hills between *Unkel* and *Andernach*, in which some *water* was enclosed. This dis-

covery seems to be totally subversive of the idea of volcanic heat*.

I have already enabled you to form some general idea of the fissure between the hills from Bonn to Andernach, when we were advancing upwards; and since, I have attempted to make you acquainted with some of the most interesting scenes that presented themselves in our course down the river, from Mentz to Coblenz, the minutiae of local description would become both tedious and superfluous. Beauties similar to those described, present themselves at every instant, and yet a gay party of pleasure will consider them as inferior. In the passage from Andernach to Bonn, sombre dignity is most prevalent, the sublime of melancholy hue. The hills are not so fertile, but they are more picturesque. The immense piles of stone, and particularly where the basalt composes the rock, gives to many places the appearance of massy walls, or large edifices in ruins, placed on the summit, or on the sides of the mountains; while, in other

* Mr. Humboldt has given an account of this Journey, in a publication, entitled, *Minerologische Beobachtungen ueber einige Basalte*, &c. i. e. *Minerological Observations concerning some Basalt, found on the borders of the Rhine.* Brunsw. 1790.

View of the Rhine, N. W. H. & D. Mountain, ascending the Rhine.



places, castles mouldering into ruins, are scarcely to be distinguished from the projections of a barren rock. Where the hills are clothed with vineyards, the idea that the vines are of an inferior quality, impairs their beauty in the eyes of one returning from the *Rhine*. The towns and villages also have scarcely any thing to boast of, excepting their romantic situations; they seem to be oppressed, or forsaken through poverty. In some particular parts, however, nature looks gay, and exerts her utmost to recompence the toils of the peasant; and those places where there is a commerce in slate, or tuf, appear neat, sprightly, and happy. I might, therefore, from these many considerations, excuse myself from giving you any further detail, and spring forwards to Bonn with one stroke of my pen; but I cannot in conscience pass by those friends that have afforded me so much pleasure, with total neglect: I must point out a few of them, by way of specimen of the many others that would not disgrace the pencil of an artist, and I shall leave you to contemplate the rest at your leisure, by tracing them upon the map of our route.

The first objects I shall notice, which, indeed, are as deserving of notice as any in this passage, are the castle and village of *Hamerstein*, on the right



View of the Town & Castle of Hammerstein: ascending the Rhine.



right side of the river, about two miles distant from Andernach. The castle is placed upon the summit of a rotund and voluminous mountain that boldly projects towards the stream, somewhat similar to Rhynfels: it has, however, a more placid and rural appearance, and from the choice it has made, it seems more disposed to *protect* than *assail*. The remains of this castle are not sufficient to give us proper ideas of its former grandeur or strength. The village, which presents us with manifest indications of poverty, is the survivor of a fortified city: the village and castle were once in the possession of Count *Otho*, the Cruel; they were taken from him by the Emperor Henry the Second, in the year 1020: the city walls were razed to the ground, but so much of the castle remained as to afford a shelter for the persecuted Henry the Fourth, in the year 1105, where he took refuge from his oppressors.

Opposite to Hamerstein, is the castle of *Reinock*, with its village: these, with the territories annexed, became, in the year 1654, the property of the Zinzendorf family, a descendant of which has distinguished himself, by becoming the patron of the Hernhutters. *Breyfig* and *Hönningen*, yielding a Bleker which rivals the products of more southern vineyards, are not to

be passed by in total silence. *Argonsfels*, with its village, situated upon the gentle declivity of a mountain, and commanding an extensive prospect, were once celebrated for their beauty, and in the days of Count *Leyen*, Elector of Treves—to which electorate the district is subject, the spot was adorned with gardens, cascades, and pleasant groves; but time and misfortunes, those terrible enemies to beauty, have destroyed all their charms.

About half past three in the afternoon, our boat stopt at *Lintz*, on the eastern borders of the Rhine. *Lintz* is a small city, in the jurisdiction of the Elector of Cologne; and, being the first town in the district, claims, as usual, the right of tollage. We went on shore, ordered a dinner at the best inn we could find, and reconnoitred the town, while it was preparing. This city is very ancient, and very poor, and it by no means corresponds with the flattering appearance it makes from the water. In short, it has nothing pleasing but its situation: this is by the side of a lofty mountain, tufted with trees. Here river and hills obviously seek an expansion: the one forms itself into a kind of lake, and the others present their inclined surfaces to cultivation. We are told by antiquarians, that *Lintz* was formerly a village, but that it was changed into a city,
and





View of Linköping ascending the Rhine?



and surrounded with walls by Archbishop *Henry Virnenbourg*, in the year 1330; and, that Archbishop *Engelberg*, in the year 1565, built a castle, both to secure his right of tollage, and to curb the turbulent spirit of the inhabitants of *Andernach*, who, in times of civil commotions, were at perpetual variance with those of *Lintz*. These commotions continued for a series of years, and inspired such mutual hatred, that neither youth nor beauty could subdue it. Intermarriages were unknown among the different parties for ages, and it is but lately that the torch of Hymen succeeds to the fire-brands of Bellona.

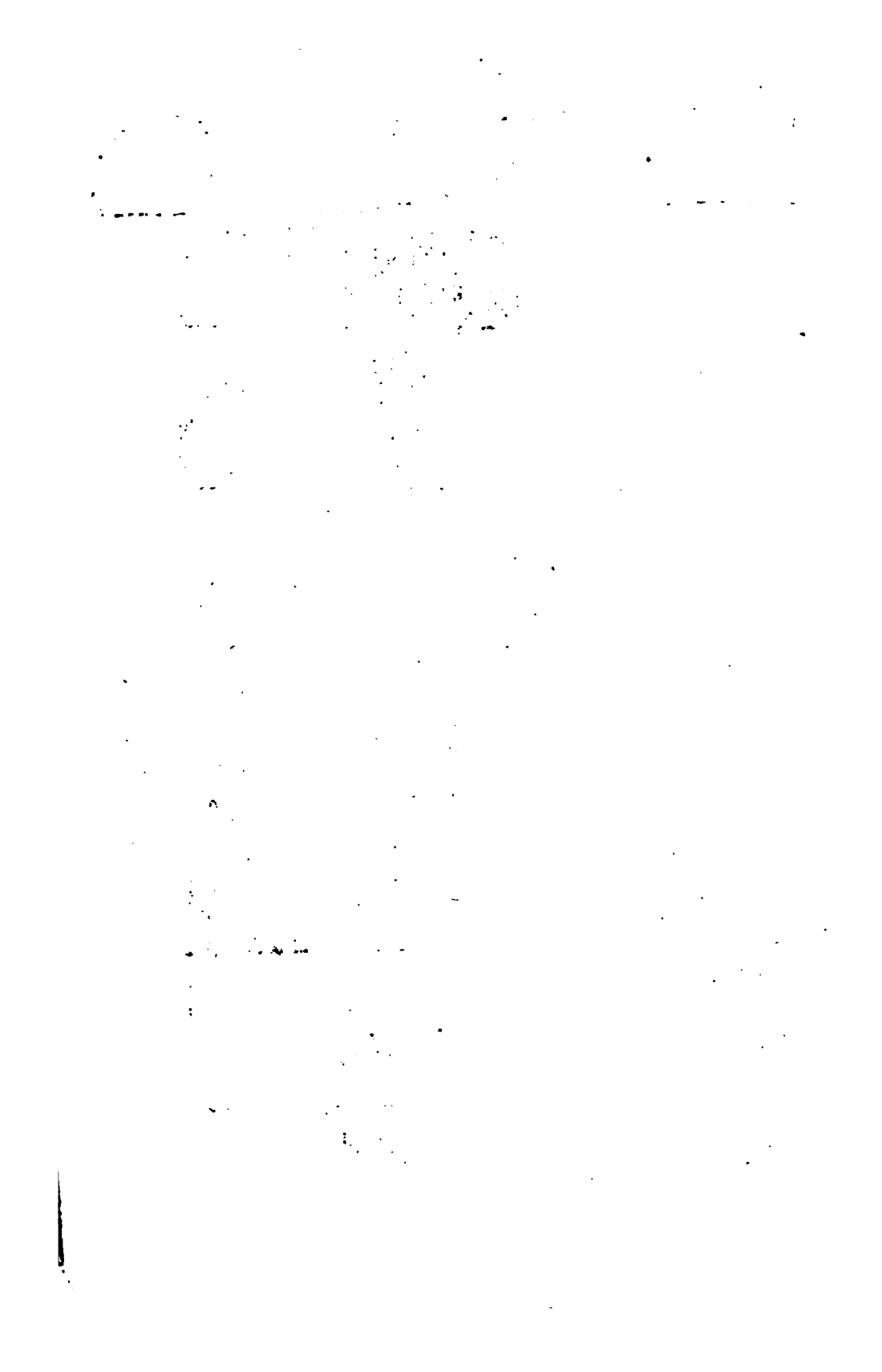
At a small distance from *Lintz*, the mountain of *Erpel* rears its head in a more perpendicular attitude than any of its neighbours. This is a mountain of basalt, and its fantastic attempts to imitate pillars and organ-pipes, and the walls of ruined castles, afforded us much amusement as we passed by it. This mountain, notwithstanding a most unpromising appearance, is favourable to the growth of the vine: it refuses soil, but it imparts a friendly heat. The vines are planted in baskets filled with earth, and are placed in the fissures of the hill that enjoy a southern aspect: here they receive the genial warmth, and flourish in great perfection.

Passing

Passing by *Rheinmagen*, several small villages, and some decayed monasteries, let me conduct you to *Unkel*, where you may stop a moment to contemplate the rock *Unkelstein*, that rises majestically from the bed of the river.

At a small distance from *Unkelstein*, a most beautiful landscape presented itself to our view. The Rhine was again spread into a lake. Several villages on the right and left, with their little farms and their vineyards, their orchards and their forests, appeared more than usually contented and happy. The stream divides into three branches, encircling two fertile islands contiguous to each other. The prospect is terminated by the majestic mountains of *Sebenbergen*, that imperiously command the Rhine to bend his course in another direction.

Although these mighty hills unite to form a whole, yet each of them has its characteristic and distinct appellation : *Drakenfels*, *Wolkenbourg*, *Rolandsekke*, *Löwenberg*, *Nonnenstromberg*, *Hoke Ochlbey*, and *Hemmerick*, alternately demand our attention and respect. The one, *Drakenfels*, rises perpendicularly from the side of the river, decked with the mantle of majesty on the one side, while the other defies the inclemencies of winter. Some are more remote, as if they sought retirement, notwithstanding their greatness : some that



FINE



View of the Seven Mountains descending the Rhine.

that are detruncated, leave the imagination to devise what they were in their pristine state. They were all places of defence in ruder times, and the history of their conflicts was, for a series of ages, connected with that of the German Empire. Several, by their monasteries, professed a reverence for religion; but it was at a period, when the mild dictates of Christianity, unable to subdue the ferocity of barbarous times, were accommodated to the manners, and were made to consecrate every motive of ambition, and every act of violence.

Notwithstanding the tremendous appearance of these mountains, the scene was rendered placid by the mildness of the evening, and the calmness of the river. Its surface was smooth as the mirror of Venus! The adjacent shores, with all their diversity of objects;—the floating vessels;—the azure sky, with a few fleecy clouds of fantastic form, were faithfully reflected in the full possession of their respective shapes and colours. Here the gentle nymphs of Diana might have bathed, blushing with modesty, and exulting at the perfection of their make! Nor would Narcissus have discovered the smallest wrinkle upon his brow, to check his fatal passion! We all assembled before the door of
our

our cabin, to contemplate these serene beauties of nature ; and our fair songstrefs, with her comfort, favoured us with the last duetto of plaintive melody, so consonant with our situation and our feelings !

THE END.

ERRATA OF VOL. II.

In consequence of some obscurities in the MSS. and the Author's distance from the press, the following inaccuracies have taken place, which will require the correction of the reader.

- Page 3, line 14, dele general
 16, l. 1, for he is read that he is
 20, l. 14, f. or r. nor
 49, l. 11, f. Shoaborsluft r. Schönborn's lust
 59, l. 16, f. supposed r. disposed
 last l. f. eastern r. western
 66, l. 3, r. though our Cicerone would not, and
 immediately, &c.
 88, l. 7, f. adopted r. adapted
 90, l. 3, f. agriculturer r. husbandman
 108, l. the last, for live r. terminate
 120, l. 25, f. to r. in themselves
 142, l. 7, f. Jeiz r. Seiz
 l. 25, f. more r. many
 144, l. 1, f. 1425 r. 1485
 145, l. 14, f. argument r. agreement
 149, l. 25, f. painter r. printer
 159, l. 3, f. to r. who
 161, l. 1, f. after r. afterwards
 165, l. 24, r. Pieterfon
 174, l. 27, f. decessit r. decepit
 175, l. 6, f. stand r. start
 202, l. 2, f. junior r. senior
 254, l. 15, f. dinner r. Römer
 268, l. 13, f. releasing r. relieving
 287, l. 7, from bottom f. Rhingan r. Rhingau,
 and in every other place where this word occurs
 290, l. 4, from bottom r.
 ἐδὲ τὶ θυμὸς ἰδυίῃ δαΐτεσι ἴσθη.
 295, l. 9, f. Volla Troiffe r. Villa Triefe
 297, l. 1, f. reside r. recede
 299, l. 14, f. strange r. strong
 302, l. 9, f. mans r. maus
 328, l. 8, from bottom f. Stahl r. Stuhl
 336, l. 11, f. wicked r. Wickert



